

ment and to decide democratically the permanent political status of Puerto Rico; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Puerto Rico, declaring to the President and the Congress of the United States that the majority of the people of Puerto Rico have and do support Guy Tugwell; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Utah, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to pass legislation relative to social security to all, including the military forces of our country; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Utah, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to investigate all activities and practices of the Rent Section of the Office of Price Administration; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Wyoming, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to enact legislation relating to reviews by United States district courts of decisions by Federal boards, commissions, and other agencies; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BATES of Kentucky:

H. R. 2088. A bill for the relief of John Rhoden; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. COFFEE:

H. R. 2089. A bill for the relief of Jennie Walker; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LAMBERTSON:

H. R. 2090. A bill for the relief of C. N. Bunds, of Winchester, Kans., by reason of certain claims arising within the World War period; to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. LANE:

H. R. 2091. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Gladys M. Greenleaf and the estate of Ralph Alton Greenleaf, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. McMILLAN:

H. R. 2092. A bill granting an increase of pension to William E. McIntosh; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 2093. A bill for the relief of Ray L. Smith; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WRIGHT:

H. R. 2094. A bill for the relief of Peter M. Rounie; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. JEFFREY:

H. R. 2095. A bill for the relief of Robert Stewart; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MILLER of Connecticut:

H. R. 2096. A bill for the relief of Dominick LeRose; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. WOODRUM of Virginia:

H. R. 2097. A bill for the relief of W. J. Cox; to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

219. By Mr. ANDREWS of New York: Resolutions passed by the Greater Buffalo Associated Meat Industry, having to do with price ceilings and black-marketing conditions in the meat industry; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

220. By Miss STANLEY: Petition of residents of the Bronx, N. Y., urging Congress (1) to appropriate adequate funds for Office of Price Administration enforcement of price-control regulations; (2) to subsidize the pro-

duction of basic commodities whose costs are increased by the war, so that the price ceilings will remain stable, (3) to restore and extend the food-stamp plan for needy families, so that a well-nourished America may produce for victory at peak strength; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

221. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Francis Jean Reuter, specialist in management and statistical control, petitioning consideration of a resolution with reference to United States Army Air Corps against Francis Jean Reuter; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE

FRIDAY, MARCH 5, 1943

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O God, our shelter from the stormy blast and our eternal home, in the stillness may we grow more sure of Thee. If for any of us duty has lost its high solemnity, if the fires of devotion and a sense of the unseen have burned to faint embers because altar fires have been untended, kindle a flame of sacred love in these cold hearts of ours. If the peril that walketh at life's noonday has spoiled the splendor of ideals that once lured us to far horizons, if our fairest dreams have turned to dust, if tinted morning glories have faded with the scorching rays of the ascending sun, may our jaded souls be restored; may we find at the renewing altar of Thy mercy oil of joy for sadness and beauty for ashes. So may our thought grow reverent again, so may the trivial round be transfigured with an inner light as, with common bushes on fire with Thee, daily duties become sacraments of service and love. We ask it through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. BARKLEY, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, March 2, 1943, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT— APPROVAL OF BILLS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries, who also announced that the President had approved and signed the following acts:

On February 26, 1943:

S. 304. An act for the relief of Capt. Richard Rothwell, United States Marine Corps;

S. 305. An act for the relief of Master Gunner Sgt. Eugene M. Martin, United States Marine Corps;

S. 306. An act to provide for the reimbursement of certain Navy personnel for personal property lost as a result of the disaster at the East Base, Antarctica, on March 21, 1941; and

S. 418. An act for the relief of Howard M. Sandus.

On March 1, 1943:

S. 167. An act for the relief of Charles F. Negel.

On March 2, 1943:

S. 493. An act for the relief of Emilliano Lopez and Eliza R. Lopez; and

S. 707. An act to provide for the appointment of an additional Assistant Attorney General.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Megill, one of its clerks, announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 839) to amend the act approved May 27, 1937 (ch. 269, 50 Stat. 208), by providing substitute and additional authority for the prevention of speculation in lands of the Columbia Basin project, and substitute and additional authority related to the settlement and development of the project, and for other purposes.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the Vice President:

S. 621. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to grant to the city of San Diego for street purposes a parcel of land situated in the city of San Diego and State of California; and

S. 739. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to authorize the attendance of personnel of the Army of the United States as students at educational institutions and other places."

DEATH OF FORMER SENATOR FRANK C. PARTRIDGE, OF VERMONT

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, Hon. Frank C. Partridge, of Proctor, Vt., passed away on March 2 after a brief illness.

The American public, including the Congress of the United States, has suffered a loss by the termination of the life of this great public servant.

He was a Senator of the United States in 1930-31. He was my predecessor.

His long and distinguished public service included his being secretary to the Secretary of War, Solicitor of the Department of State, Minister to Venezuela, consul general at Tangier, member of the Vermont State Senate, chairman commission to propose amendments to the Vermont constitution; he rewrote consular regulations; was appointed umpire British-Venezuela Claims Commission and Netherlands-Venezuela Claims Commission, but was unable to serve; was delegate of the United States to the Fifth Pan American Conference at Santiago, Chile, member executive council, American Society of International Law, member New England Council, president Vermont Flood Credit Corporation.

Vermont holds his memory in highest esteem. He was president for many years of one of the basic industries of our State, the Vermont Marble Co., and at the time of his death was chairman of the board of the Vermont Marble Co., as well as a senior director of the National Life Insurance Co.

He was an active supporter of our churches, colleges, schools, and eleemosynary institutions, and was an inspiring example of good citizenship.

He was a man of high ideals, and he had the courage to fight for them. His memory will be kept fresh by the enduring effect of his good life and works.

We share with his family and his intimate friends a great sorrow, and we extend to them our deep sympathy.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR TRUMAN AND THE WORK OF THE TRUMAN COMMITTEE

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, Shakespeare tells us—

The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones.

Let us take a leaf from the great bard's book and reverse the thought of that quotation. Let us give praise to the living where praise is due.

One of our distinguished colleagues has been greatly instrumental in performing one of the most valuable services to the Government and the country, in that he suggested and has personally led a committee that has contributed mightily toward keeping our National Government house in good order. In the expenditure of billions of dollars under the most careful supervision there might be some misappropriation of funds; there might be some wanton use of money; there might be some unnecessary waste; but, through the instrumentalities of the Truman committee, headed by the able and distinguished junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN], there has been a vigilance over the activities of all branches of the Government that has assured honesty in Government.

In the last issue of Time magazine the Truman committee is credited with the saving of \$1,000,000,000 and our able colleague, Senator TRUMAN, has been designated as "a billion-dollar watchdog." The committee, in its own activities, has practiced what it has preached in watching governmental expenditures, as its own expenditures have been most economical.

In paying tribute to the distinguished chairman of the committee there should not be overlooked the devoted service of the other members of the committee who have assisted the chairman in bringing about its notable work. The committee, which is officially known as the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program, is composed of the following Senators:

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN], the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY], the Senator from New York [Mr. MEAD], the Senator from Washington [Mr. WALLGREN], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE], the Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BURTON], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. BALL], and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON].

I offer for the RECORD an article from the March 8 issue of Time magazine, and I join in statement that the Senator from Missouri [Mr. TRUMAN] is "a happy crusader and a billion-dollar watchdog." I ask that the article from Time magazine be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BILLION-DOLLAR WATCHDOG

Anywhere but in a democracy, the Senate's irreverent Truman committee would be fair game for liquidation. In a perfect state, free from butterfingers and human frailty, it

would be unnecessary. In the United States, democratic but far from perfect, the Truman committee this week celebrated its second successful birthday as one of the most useful Government agencies of World War No. 2.

Had they had time, its 10 members might have toasted their accomplishments all night. They had served as watchdog, spotlight, conscience, and sparkplug to the economic war-behind-the-lines. They had prodded Commerce Secretary Jesse Jones into building synthetic-rubber plants, bludgeoned the President into killing off doddering old Supply Priorities and Allocations Board and setting up War Production Board.

They had called the turn on raw-materials shortages, had laid down the facts of the rubber famine 4 months before the famed Baruch report. One single investigation, of graft and waste in Army camp building, had saved the United States \$250,000,000 (according to the Army's own Lt. Gen. Brehon B. Somervell). Their total savings ran into billions, partly because of what their agents had ferreted out in the sprawling war program, partly because their hooting curiosity was a great deterrent to waste.

The Truman committee was too busy to celebrate. In its sixteenth month of war, the United States had still not digested some of war's first readers. The first annual Truman report, with its shocking evidence of all-around bungling (Time, January 23, 1942), had not spelled the end of bungling. This week the committee worked on its second annual report, which would have to recite much the same story, chastise many of the same men, pose some of the same old problems. How big should the Army be? How could the manpower tangle be solved? Where would the Nation get its food this year? What was wrong with War Production Board?

Over these basic questions, which the Truman committee, on behalf of all American citizens, had hoped would be solved 2 years ago, the committee still sweated, glowed, and tried to shed light.

CLOSEST THING YET

The bigger the United States arsenal grew, the more important the Truman committee became. As the arsenal turned into a modern-day great pyramid, most Washington officials still lugged just one stone, and many carried it in the wrong direction.

The closest thing yet to a domestic high command was the Truman committee. Its members had no power to act or order. But, using Congress' old prerogative to look, criticize, and recommend, they had focused the strength of public opinion on the men who had the power. They had a fund of only \$200,000 (some still unspent) only 12 investigators, 18 clerks and stenographers. But it was an obscure war plant that had never been visited by the committee. Its members had heard hundreds of witnesses, taken 4,000,000 words of testimony. With battle-royal impartiality, they had given thick ears and red faces to Cabinet members, war agency heads, generals, admirals, big businessmen, little businessmen, labor leaders.

In wartime, even more than in peace, a democracy must keep an eye on itself. This eye the Truman committee has kept unblinkingly and, by and large, well. It has made mistakes. Some of its data have been gathered too quickly, then reduced to generalities that glittered without illuminating. Its members, including Chairman HARRY S. TRUMAN, have sometimes failed to look before they leaped to conclusions. But it has never strayed too far off the beam, nor stayed there too long.

Said one Washingtonian last week: "There's only one thing that worries me more than the present state of the war effort. That's to think what it would be like by now without TRUMAN." For a congressional committee to be considered the first line of defense—especially in a nation which does not

tend to admire its Representatives, in Congress assembled—is encouraging to believers in democracy. So is the sudden emergence of HARRY TRUMAN, whose presence in the Senate is a queer accident of democracy, as the committee's energetic generalissimo.

MAKING OF A SENATOR

Neat, grey HARRY SHIPPE TRUMAN was sworn in as Senator from Missouri in 1934. The only men seen to smile during the ceremony were two husky lieutenants of Boss Tom Pendergast's notorious Kansas City Democratic machine, who sat beaming in the gallery.

In a perfect democracy, free from bosses, string-pulling and flinching at the polls, HARRY TRUMAN would probably never have reached Washington. He was Tom Pendergast's hand-picked candidate, yanked out of obscurity so deep that few Missouri voters had ever heard of him. He was nominated, over two more deserving candidates, largely by a vast plurality rolled up in Boss Pendergast's Jackson County, whose registration lists were loaded with dead men and men who had never lived. Thanks to the Boss's great power and the New Deal's 1934 popularity, his election was then automatic.

No one yet knows exactly why Boss Pendergast picked TRUMAN for the Senate. One theory: the Boss was in the whimsical mood of a socialite sneaking a pet Pekingese into the social register. A better theory: the Boss was impressed by the midwestern adage that every manure pile should sprout one rose—he saw in TRUMAN a personally honest, courageous man whose respectability would disguise the odors of the Pendergast mob. Certainly TRUMAN was no statesman in 1934. Neither had he ever been touched by scandal.

MAKING OF A MAN

TRUMAN grew up on a Jackson County farm 15 miles from Kansas City. He tried for West Point, was rejected for one weak eye, gave up the thought of college and went to work instead. He dusted bottles in a drugstore, wrapped papers for the Kansas City Star, clerked in Kansas City banks. Five years out of high school he was droning along at \$100 a month and ready to go back to his father's farm for good.

World War No. 1 pulled him off the farm again. He went to France a lieutenant, became captain of the One Hundred and Twenty-ninth Field Artillery's rough-and-tumble Battery D. He was shy, reserved, wore big shell-rimmed glasses; to his pugnacious Irish privates he looked like something of a milquetoast.

At the start he was perhaps the most unpopular captain in France. But he led his men doggedly through St. Mihiel and the Argonne, spiked a panic when German artillery once drew a bead on his battery, lost only one soldier killed and one wounded, was promoted to major. On the ship back from France his men took a cut out of all crap games, bought him a monstrous loving cup four feet high and big enough to hold ten gallons.

The war, brightest spot in TRUMAN's pre-Senate record, was soon followed by the saddest. With a soldier buddy and \$15,000 saved and borrowed, he opened a haberdashery on Kansas City's sporty Twelfth Street, roamed behind the counters selling socks, neckties and garters. In 12 months the store went broke, with debts it took years to pay off.

At 37, HARRY TRUMAN, bottle duster, bank clerk, and would-be haberdasher, was bogged deep in failure. All he had to show for his career was an old army uniform and a loving cup too ostentatious to keep on the mantel.

ERRAND BOY

Most United States political machines, however disreputable, have two saving graces to their credit: (1) they are close enough to the people to know basic human desires, tragedies, and needs; (2) their bosses, earthy

and disillusioned men, have sometimes found talent where more snobbish souls would never have thought to look. In 1921, with his haberdashery under the hammer and black days ahead, TRUMAN looked up some old servicemen friends in the Pendergast organization. TRUMAN was a veteran, a farmer, a Mason, a Democrat from three generations back; he had friends all over Jackson County. The machine made him road overseer, then county judge (an administrative post), finally United States Senator.

TRUMAN was no ball of fire in his first term. He sat meekly in the freshman row, blinked when critics called him Pendergast's "errand boy," was second only to Pennsylvania's JOSEPH GUFFEY, whose vote for New Deal measures was pure automatic reflex, in unswerving support of administration policies.

On BURT WHEELER's Interstate Commerce Committee he showed unexpected talents as an investigator of railroad high shenanigans. (He and canny BURT WHEELER are still good friends, despite their schism on foreign policy.) But this was too esoteric an assignment to impress many voters back home. They saw him chiefly in another light.

A young United States attorney named Maurice M. Milligan was cleaning up Kansas City, sending one Pendergast henchman after another to jail for vote frauds, getting closer and closer to the big boss himself. When Milligan came up for reappointment, TRUMAN did his best to ease him out; made one of the bitterest speeches ever heard on the Senate floor. Milligan got the reappointment anyway, promptly sent Pendergast to prison for evading income taxes on some of his slush money. TRUMAN shouted: "Purely political."

* * * I won't desert a ship in distress."

MAN WITH ERRAND

In a perfect democracy, run without hitch, TRUMAN would never have been returned to the Senate in 1940. A majority of Missouri Democrats, in full revolt against the machine, opposed him in the primary. But attorney Milligan and ex-Gov. Lloyd Crow Stark split the opposition vote, and TRUMAN slipped in with an 8,000-vote plurality. For a Nation whose administration, Army, and war contractors are not perfect either, it has turned out to be a good thing.

The Senate Committee Investigating National Defense was TRUMAN's own idea. As county judge he had awarded \$60,000,000 in contracts; he knew how hard it had been to get honest performance. Up rose the Senator to demand that Congress keep an eye on war expenditures: he had never yet found a contractor who, left unwatched, "wouldn't leave the Government holding the bag."

At first nobody took the Truman committee seriously. The Senate gave him \$15,000 (about as much as the Dies committee spends every 7 weeks) and a group of colleagues chosen mostly from junior Senators, such as Minnesota's young JOSEPH BALL, Washington's first-termining MON C. WALLGREEN, New York's busy JAMES M. MEAD. Also on the committee went cagey old TOM CONNALLY, of Texas, to see that the juniors kept their heads. For its first assignment, the committee chose a modest chore: delving into the more flagrant charges of graft in camp and war-plant construction, plugging some of the more open sewers down which Government money drained.

But TRUMAN had bigger ideas. In selecting the committee's chief counsel, he rejected all political recommendations, went instead to Attorney General (now Justice) ROBERT H. JACKSON for advice. Thus he got a top-flight investigator, rotund, brilliant, young Hugh Fulton, a Justice Department prosecutor who had sent Howard C. Hopson, head of Associated Gas & Electric Corporation, to prison.

TRUMAN's junior Senators, hungry for tough assignments, went to work with a will. HARRY TRUMAN, a shrewd politician, a maker of friends, a great man for shooting trouble,

always kept his committee happy and on the ball. It got more money, branched out, found itself deep in every phase of the war. Today few committees, and few men, wield such power.

DISAPPOINTED WARRIOR

HARRY TRUMAN would rather be fighting the war than policing it. At 58 he still goes solemnly through his setting up exercises every morning, can still get into his World War No. 1 uniform. In 1939, like any old soldier, he dug out his old artillery maps, hung them on his office wall to help follow the fighting. He applied for active duty after Pearl Harbor, still likes to think the Army was wrong to say no. When Senate Office Building janitors began marking off air-raid shelters, he fetched his two rusty World War No. 1 helmets to his office, announced that he was ready to serve as warden. No planes came over Washington, so he finally stacked the helmets in his office fireplace and redoubled his efforts on the committee.

To a man once called errand boy, those efforts have produced gratifying results. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, which once threw at him everything its angry editors thought fit to print, recently called him "one of the most useful and at the same time one of the most forthright and fearless" of today's Senators. In Kansas City he was feted by the Chamber of Commerce, which once fought him tooth and nail. A naturally shy and self-effacing man, HARRY TRUMAN brushes off the praise; instead of speaking himself in Kansas City, he introduced the members of his committee, let them talk. But even a perfect Democrat could not have helped being pleased.

HAPPY CRUSADER

TRUMAN is still a politician, would be loyal to the Pendergast machine today if it still existed. "Tom Pendergast never asked me to do a dishonest deed," he says. "He knew I wouldn't do it if he had asked me. He was always my friend. He was always honest with me, and when he made a promise he kept it. I wouldn't kick a friend when he was down."

But HARRY TRUMAN has many another quality not usually associated with machine politicians. He is scrupulously honest; when a magazine paid him \$750 for an article on his committee he added the money to the committee's funds. His only vices are small-stakes poker, an occasional drink of bourbon.

As committee chairman he is a man with a crusade; he says, "The goal of every man on the committee is to promote the war effort to the limit of efficiency and exertion. It doesn't do any good to go around digging up dead horses after the war is over, like the last time. The thing to do is dig this stuff up now and correct it. If we run this war program efficiently there won't be any opportunity for someone to stir up a lot of investigations after the war, and cause a wave of revulsion that will start the country on the downhill road to unpreparedness and put us in another war in 20 years. * * *

In many ways HARRY TRUMAN and his committee, celebrating their anniversary this week by poring over another report, seemed the best living proof that democracy, even when imperfect, can be a success.

REPRESENTATION OF SENATE COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS ON BOARD OF VISITORS TO THE MILITARY ACADEMY

Mr. REYNOLDS. As chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the act approved May 17, 1928, Public Law No. 416 of the Seventieth Congress, I desire to state that I have appointed the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], the Senators from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE and Mr. REVERCOMB], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and the Senator from North Carolina

[Mr. REYNOLDS] to represent the Committee on Military Affairs on the Board of Visitors to the United States Military Academy during the first session of the Seventy-eighth Congress.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

SUPPLEMENTAL ESTIMATE, DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE (S. Doc. No. 17)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the Department of Commerce, fiscal year 1943, amounting to \$390,000 (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

PROTECTION OF INDIAN TRIBAL ORGANIZATIONS

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation for the protection of Indian tribal organizations (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

REVOLVING FUND, CROW INDIANS

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation extending the time for repayment and authorizing increase of the revolving fund for the benefit of the Crow Indians (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

LANDS WITHIN THE NAVAJO INDIAN RESERVATION, ARIZ.

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to exchange certain lands within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Ariz. (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

PURCHASE OF LOGS, LUMBER, ETC., BY THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize the Secretary of the Interior, in carrying out the purposes of the act of May 18, 1916 (39 Stat. 137), to purchase logs, lumber, and other forest products (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

TRAVEL RATE FOR ACCOMMODATIONS ON SHIPS

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize travel on ships at the next higher available first-class rate when accommodations at the lowest first-class rate are not available (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

PURCHASE OF FOOD, CLOTHING, SUPPLIES, ETC., FOR RESALE TO INTERIOR DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES IN ALASKA

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to purchase food, clothing, supplies, and materials for resale to employees of the Department of the Interior stationed in Alaska (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs.

REPORT OF MIGRATORY BIRD CONSERVATION COMMISSION

A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, chairman of the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1942 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

REPORT OF FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

A letter from the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of

that Commission for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1942, including a summary of the Commission's war activities for the calendar year 1942 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

Two letters from the Archivist of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, two lists of papers and documents on the files of the Departments of State, War (4), Navy (3), Agriculture (6), and Commerce; the Federal Security Agency, Federal Works Agency (6), The National Archives (2), the Panama Canal, United States Employees' Compensation Commission, National Housing Agency (3), and Tennessee Valley Authority which are not needed in the conduct of business and have no permanent value or historical interest, and requesting action looking to their disposition (with accompanying papers); to a Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Papers in the Executive Departments.

The VICE PRESIDENT appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the committee on the part of the Senate.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

Petitions, etc., were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the VICE PRESIDENT:

A petition of the Militant Mothers and Wives of America, signed by Mrs. Amanda M. Paxson, president, praying for the enactment of legislation to outlaw strikes in war industries and to control the sale of alcoholic liquor; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

A memorial of Wayne County Clerical, Professional, and Miscellaneous Local, No. 595, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, of Detroit, Mich., remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to require Senate confirmation of appointments to Federal positions with compensation of \$4,500 per annum or more; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A letter in the nature of a petition from Arnold S. Zander, general president of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, of Madison, Wis., praying for a congressional investigation of the Christian American Association, of Houston, Tex., and similar organizations; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Resolutions of Arrowhead Parlor, No. 110, Native Sons of the Golden West, of San Bernardino; Compton Parlor, No. 258, of Compton; East Los Angeles Parlor, No. 266, of Los Angeles, and Santa Maria Parlor, No. 276, of Santa Maria, Native Daughters of the Golden West, all in the State of California, protesting against the formation of a Japanese unit of the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A telegram embodying a joint resolution of the Legislature of the State of Washington; to the Committee on Military Affairs:

OLYMPIA, WASH., March 3, 1943.

SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.:

The Washington State Legislature in legislative session assembled have passed the following senate joint resolution:

Whereas there is now pending in the Congress of the United States, House bill No. 997 and Senate bill No. 216 to create a pharmacy corps in the United States Army; and

Whereas there is a definite need in this war emergency for the capable handling of drugs, medicines, and pharmaceuticals which are used in the treatment of diseases of our men and women in the armed forces; and

Whereas at the present there is no law providing for the creation of such a pharmacy corps; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we memorialize the Congress of the United States to put forth every effort to urge that these two bills be enacted into law.

H. H. HENNEFORD,
Secretary of the Senate.

A resolution of the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey; to the Committee on Commerce:

"Assembly resolution urging and petitioning the Congress of the United States to enact appropriate legislation to preserve and safeguard the shad fishing industry in the Hudson River

"Whereas the house of assembly is advised that the Port Director of the Third Naval District, which includes the Hudson River south of Yonkers, has prohibited the placing of fishing nets in said portion of the Hudson River, except in the shallow water shoreward of the 18-foot contour on the New Jersey side of the river in order to increase the space in said river available for anchorage purposes; and

"Whereas by reason of said prohibition, shad fishing in said portion of the Hudson River, an industry which has been conducted for approximately 50 years last past, would practically be prohibited because the catch which might be obtained in the shallow waters shoreward of said 18-foot contour would not be sufficient to warrant the installation of the necessary equipment to take the same; and

"Whereas said nets are maintained in said river for a period not exceeding 6 weeks and under the regulations previously in force, the width of the nets located in the area south of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street from the southernmost boundary of the fishery boundary opposite Sixtieth Street in New York City, has been limited to 500 feet, and they have been required to be placed 1,500 feet apart, thus permitting ample space in the river at this point and between the nets for the anchorage of vessels; and

"Whereas prohibition of shad fishing in this area will prevent a substantial contribution to the national food supply by preventing an estimated catch during the shad fishing season of approximately 3,000,000 pounds of fish, and will work great hardship upon those engaged in this industry; and

"Whereas the shad fishing season in said river is of short duration, extending from approximately the 5th day of April to the 20th day of May in each year: Therefore be it

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

"1. The General Assembly of the State of New Jersey urges and petitions the Congress of the United States to enact appropriate legislation to preserve and safeguard the shad fishing industry in the Hudson River.

"2. The clerk of the house of assembly be and he is hereby directed to transmit copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of the Senate of the United States, to the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Member of the Senate of the United States and the House of Representatives of the United States from the State of New Jersey."

A joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Idaho; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

"Senate Joint Memorial 6

"Joint memorial to the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States Government in Congress assembled, urging the suspension of all operation under the Agricultural Adjustment Act, known as the A. A. A., for the duration of the present war, in order that the moneys expended thereunder and the help required for the administration of such act might be diverted to the war effort

"We, your memorialists, the Legislature of the State of Idaho, respectfully represent that

"Whereas the Agricultural Adjustment Administration has, during the period from May 12, 1933, to June 30, 1942, expended \$5,680,400,000, of which \$213,100,000 was for administrative expense; and

"Whereas during the fiscal year of 1942 the total administrative expense of said Agricultural Adjustment Administration was \$4,596,872; and

"Whereas during the fiscal year of 1942 the administrative expense for State officers administering this act in the State of Idaho was \$181,576, not taking into consideration the county administrative expense; and

"Whereas we have requested the administrative office for such act in Boise, Idaho, to furnish us with figures and number of personnel required to administer the act in Idaho; and

"Whereas said office has refused to furnish such information; and

"Whereas this enormous expenditure of moneys requires the services of a vast number of employees, the exact or approximate number of which we have been unable to obtain; and

"Whereas the emergency for which this act was passed to alleviate has ceased to exist; and

"Whereas we, your memorialists, feel that such an unwarranted expenditure of money and demand upon the services of manpower that might be diverted to the war effort is not in any way necessary at this time and could be made available to furthering the war effort: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the twenty-seventh session of the Legislature of the State of Idaho (the house of representatives concurring therein), That we most respectfully urge the Congress of the United States in session assembled to take steps to pass the necessary legislation to suspend the operation of the Agricultural Adjustment Act for the duration of the present emergency; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of State of the State of Idaho is hereby requested and directed to send a copy of this memorial to the Congress of the United States and copies of this memorial to the Members of the Idaho delegation in Congress."

A concurrent resolution of the Legislature of Puerto Rico; to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs:

"Substitute for Senate Concurrent Resolution 1

"Concurrent resolution to lay before the President and the Congress of the United States of America the right of the people of Puerto Rico that the colonial system of government be ended and to decide democratically the permanent political status of Puerto Rico as expeditiously as possible, immediately if feasible

"Whereas in all political parties and civic and economic sectors of Puerto Rico the unanimous opinion prevails that the colonial system of government should be totally and definitely abolished;

"Whereas the form of definite political status which, on the basis of this unanimous anticolonial conviction, the people of Puerto Rico are to have, should be democratically decided by the free vote of the people of Puerto Rico; and

"Whereas it is the unanimous desire of the people of Puerto Rico that, in accordance with their will set forth in the programs of the political parties, the permanent political status be decided as expeditiously as possible, immediately if feasible, or at the latest when the war ends and peace is established, whichever shall be most compatible with the best conduct of the war against the totalitarian powers: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate of Puerto Rico (the house of representatives concurring):

"SECTION 1. That the Legislature of Puerto Rico, in the name and in representation of the people of Puerto Rico, by this concur-

rent resolution, lays before the President and the Congress of the United States of America the right of the people of Puerto Rico that the colonial system of government be ended and to decide, in special free and democratic elections, by the free will of the people of Puerto Rico themselves, their permanent political status, as expeditely as possible, immediately if feasible.

"Sec. 2. That if the President and the Congress of the United States of America consider that in order to make effective this right and to act favorably regarding this petition, we should wait for the moment when victory is won and peace is being organized, the people of Puerto Rico will wait with patriotic resignation until that decisive moment for their natural aspirations.

"Sec. 3. That a copy of this concurrent resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States of America, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States of America, the Secretary of the Interior, the Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico in Washington, the Governor of Puerto Rico, and to the press."

A resolution of the Senate of Puerto Rico; to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs:

"Senate Resolution 2

"Whereas certain political leaders and certain economic forces wage an organized campaign in Washington against the Governor of Puerto Rico, the Honorable Rexford G. Tugwell;

"Whereas this campaign is being waged in Washington on the grounds that Governor Tugwell is forcing his own personal ideas upon the people of Puerto Rico;

"Whereas on the basis of such an assertion a part of the public opinion of the United States might be brought to believe that Governor Tugwell is acting contrary to the wishes of the people of Puerto Rico;

"Whereas the Legislature of Puerto Rico, as sole power democratically representative of the people of Puerto Rico, is in duty bound to make public its views and its will in order to give expression to the democratic reality of Puerto Rico and disabuse the minds of our fellow citizens of the United States of America as regards the true significance of the attacks against Governor Tugwell and his administration: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate of Puerto Rico:

"1. To declare, as it hereby declares, that Gov. Rexford G. Tugwell has the support of the majority of the people of Puerto Rico and of the Legislature of Puerto Rico.

"2. To make it a matter of record that the fundamental legislation for the improvement of the living conditions of the Puerto Rican people was discussed directly with the people during the election period, received the votes of the people, and was passed by the Legislature of Puerto Rico before Mr. Tugwell was appointed Governor of Puerto Rico or had come to have any official contact with our country.

"3. To declare, as it hereby declares, that all the legislation approved was part of the political platform on which the majority of this legislature, and also the greater part of the minority of this legislature, were elected.

"4. To transcribe in evidence of the foregoing, the following excerpts from the platforms of the various parties represented in this legislature, which took part in the last election held in Puerto Rico:

"Platform of the Popular Democratic Party

"The Popular Democratic Party will supply the executive branch of the government with all the means to insure the enforcement of the 500-acre law. Its legislature will make regulations therefor, to the end that corporations may not scoff at the rights of the

people, and will base such regulations on policies that will benefit directly the greatest number of families consistent with the efficiency and production of the lands made a subject of distribution as a result of the enforcement of this law. We will strive to the end that the land subject to the provisions of this law be recovered for the benefit of laborers, of small farmers, and of cooperatives of farmers and workers.

"Legislation to insure that sugarcane growers receive the full amount they are entitled to receive from the product of their effort and their land. If necessary, the grinding of sugarcane and its processing into sugar will be declared a public-service industry, and its duty toward the farmer, the workman, and the sugar consumers of the island will be regulated in order to establish a fair distribution of the profits derived from such activity, guaranteeing the permanent operation thereof for the benefit of the Puerto Rican community on the basis of reasonable profits for the owners of the sugarcane-grinding industry, and abolishing all existing monopolies in the matter.

"Effective steps toward the reformation of the banking system in order to establish the Banco de Puerto Rico, liberalize credit to farmers, businessmen, manufacturers, and workers of the island, and facilitate the development and improvement of Puerto Rican economy.

"An ample program will be submitted with all the necessary requirements for the development and utilization of water resources.

"Legislation will be enacted so that all agregados may acquire without cost to themselves a piece of land that will serve to guarantee their individual freedom and be the source of their civic awareness.

"Measures for the protection of our industries so that they may develop and prosper.

"Platform of the Socialist Party of Puerto Rico

"The Socialist Party of Puerto Rico declares that the natural wealth and the riches produced in Puerto Rico by labor in its manifold and varied manifestations are monopolized by resident and nonresident natural and artificial persons; that the vast latifundia, inventions, and the prodigious applications of machinery to sugar production and other industries are monopolized by absentee capital;

"That the industrial and social wealth which is the product of the effort and labor of all the citizens who in the past and the present have applied and are applying their intelligence and muscle to produce it is not only not enjoyed by those citizens, but is also sent out of the country in the form of incomes, dividends, and profits, thereby compelling the producing community of Puerto Rico to suffer dire and painful consequences; and for these reasons:

"The Socialist Party of Puerto Rico, upon making this declaration of redeeming and humane doctrine, resolves to declare before the public conscience of Puerto Rico and of the United States that the industrial-economic system which predominates in this island is directed and controlled by selfish and baneful monopolies of absentee and resident capital, and that it does not fulfill the civilizing purpose and the design of human justice that our country demands.

"Measures for economic, social, and human advancement: To increase the powers of the Legislature of Puerto Rico to adopt solutions of the problems of the centralization of lands and absenteeism.

"Technical organization of industry: The Socialist Party, well aware of the need for the technical organization of industries, considers that the promulgation of legislation has become necessary, and to that end will strive to obtain the establishment of credit institu-

tions in harmony with the requirements and development of industries.

"Public ownership of public utilities: A part of the natural resources of the people of Puerto Rico is in the hands of public utilities. The capital represented is nonresident. If Puerto Rico were able to connect public utilities with the administration of the government the majority of the economic and social ills from which it is suffering would be suppressed.

"The services rendered by these public utilities represent, for the community in general, an annual outlay of a considerable sum of money, amounting to millions of dollars, which not only is not reinvested but which migrates, serving to pay dividends, interest, and compensation to persons, while the industrialization of our island, the telephone and telegraph, steam and electric railroads, and other resources continue undeveloped in Puerto Rico.

"These resources in the possession of the state would be an invaluable source of advancement and of general comfort and welfare.

"The Socialist Party advocates that the state, through well-planned and carefully considered enactments of the Legislature of Puerto Rico, take over the utilization of the natural resources of the island, including land and maritime communications, piers, and warehouses all along our coast line, operation of water resources—considering this is the white coal that we can produce for steam and electric industrialization—and the other resources that so far remain unexploited in Puerto Rico.

"Platform of the coalition of the Union-Republican and Socialist Parties

"Examination and survey of all the natural resources and other factors, as a foundation for the possible establishment, promotion, and development of industries capable of producing successfully for export.

"Continuation of the agricultural policy initiated by the coalition (of the Union-Republican and Socialist Parties).

"Establishment of business cooperatives, of the barter of products for consumption, and of agencies for the creation abroad of markets for our agricultural and industrial production.

"Continuance of our program of extension and development of subsistence farms, furnishing them with agricultural implements, seeds, livestock, and homes, and providing the necessary means for the enforcement of homestead laws.

"To promote and contract a loan of not less than \$1,500,000 to be applied to the construction of homes for laborers and to the improvement of those already in existence, and to the purchase of land and the creation of farms to be supplied with all the required agricultural implements, animal power, seeds, fertilizers, and everything else needed.

"The natural resources of the land, such as waterfalls (water resources), forests, mines, fisheries, etc., should be conserved and developed under the direction of the state."

"Platform of the Puerto Rican Tripartite Unification, now the Puerto Rican Liberal Party

"Extension of the farm and homestead program.

"Amplification of the system of subsistence farms.

"Industrial promotion, not only by means of protective legislation, but also by means of such financial assistance as may be required.

"Establishment of credit facilities for agriculture and industry for the purpose of affording them cheaper credit by the creation of the necessary organizations.

"Establishment of such relations between the colono and the central, and between the

laborers and employers in sugarcane and other agricultural products, as will guarantee to each the enjoyment of that share of the profits to which each of them may be entitled from the standpoint of a fair conception of contribution to production.

"Maintenance and enactment of such laws concerning land tenure as consolidate and strengthen the foundations of our general economy.

"Establishment of a water resources administration that will assist our agriculture and furnish the people cheap irrigation and electric energy in the rural and the urban districts. This policy does not imply the elimination, or a merger with the general system, of those public systems which, as in the case of the Guayama irrigation system, are operating in a solvent and efficient manner."

"5. To declare that, as is very well shown by the platforms hereinabove transcribed, Governor Tugwell, far from arbitrarily forcing ideas upon the people of Puerto Rico, is carrying out, as behooves an executive under the democratic system defended in this war, a program of reforms known to and ardently desired by the people of Puerto Rico, which was discussed with the people when their votes were solicited during the election campaign, which was sanctioned directly by the people, and which the Legislature of Puerto Rico enacted in democratic compliance with the mandate of the people.

"6. To declare, further, that such program, far from being anything new, aims at securing for the people of Puerto Rico the enjoyment of measures enacted either for Puerto Rico, or the United States, or numerous States, a good many years ago, and which are opposed only by a certain group in Puerto Rico because of the habitual belief of this group that our people can be deprived of rights won long ago by the people of the United States and by the civilized peoples of the world in general.

"7. To declare that, for all the foregoing reasons, Governor Tugwell, as a democratic executive, and until such time as the people of Puerto Rico elect their own executive, represents the democratic forces of Puerto Rico and the democratic principles the defense of which is involved in this war.

"8. And to request from the President of the United States as a democratic expression, as it is hereby requested, that the Honorable Rexford G. Tugwell remain in the governorship of Puerto Rico until our people have the opportunity of electing their own chief executive, this latter being the only democratic alternative to the permanence in Puerto Rico of a Governor who effectuates the program of the people and of the Legislature of Puerto Rico.

"9. That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Presiding Officers of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States, the chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives, the chairman of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs of the Senate, the Secretary of the Interior, the Governor of Puerto Rico, the Resident Commissioner for Puerto Rico in Washington, and to the American press."

By Mr. STEWART:

Resolutions of Compton Parlor, No. 258, of Compton, and East Los Angeles Parlor, No. 266, of Los Angeles, both of the Native Daughters of the Golden West, in the State of California, protesting against the formation of a Japanese unit of the United States Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HAYDEN:

A memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Arizona; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

"House Memorial 3

"Memorial requesting an investigation by Congress of the problem of marketing, transporting, and distributing farm products

"To the Congress of the United States:

"Your memorialist respectfully represents:

"The marketing and distributing of farm products has long been the major problem of the agricultural industry.

"The excessive price spread separating producer and ultimate consumer, attributable to the intervention of numerous middlemen and inadequate facilities for finding and reaching the markets for agricultural products has worked to the serious detriment both of growers and the consuming public, depriving the farmer of a fair profit and affecting the standards of living and the health of millions of people.

"A thorough survey of this condition and systematic investigation of the problem involved might well be classified as post-war planning of the highest order.

"Wherefore your memorialist, the House of Representatives of the State of Arizona, respectfully prays:

"1. That the Congress authorize a survey and study of conditions affecting the marketing and distributing of agricultural products, by the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives, and to that end adopt House Resolution 38, introduced January 8, 1943."

By Mr. GILLETTE (for himself and Mr. WILSON):

A concurrent resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Iowa; to the Committee on Military Affairs:

"Senate Concurrent Resolution 20

"Whereas upon the shoulders of American boys, 18 years of age or over, has been placed the responsibility of forming a part of the armed forces engaged in the present titanic struggle for world liberty; and

"Whereas apart from the physical aspects of the sacrifice our younger men are thus called upon to make is the matter of their education. It is a serious and momentous thing, to them and to their country, to interrupt, perhaps to prevent, their academic and professional training; and

"Whereas it now appears that it is the purpose of the War Relocation Authority of the United States to accord eligibility to some 2,500 young Japanese-American students, located in war relocation centers, to leave such centers and enter any of a large number of colleges and universities—in other words, to accord the privileges of higher education to a group of young people, citizens by virtue of their birth in this country, whose loyalty and patriotism are rendered doubtful because of their racial extraction, thereby unfitting them to be soldiers, while denying a similar opportunity to our own young men of unquestioned loyalty; and

"Whereas it is admitted that particularly all of the Japanese-Americans to whom higher education is to be afforded are physically fit and capable of performing services which would be useful to the war effort, where their patriotism might be demonstrated without placing them in a position where possible disloyalty might be perilous: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the senate (the house concurring):

"1. That no discrimination be shown in the matter of educational advantages between America's young citizens, of whatever race or nationality—in short, while young men of undoubted loyalty and Caucasian extraction are required to serve in the armed forces, that these young men of Japanese ancestry and less certain loyalty be given op-

portunity to serve the war effort in ways in which their racial extraction will prove no impediment.

"2. That steps be taken, through executive intervention or order, or by means of legislation if necessary, to prevent allowing Japanese-American youths the privilege of leaving concentration centers and securing an education in American colleges and universities, while the same privilege is denied to loyal American young men called to military service.

"3. That if any Japanese-American youths have already been given the privilege of attending colleges and universities, they be returned to their relocation camps; and be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, also to the two Iowa Senators, and to the eight Iowa Members of the House of Representatives, and that they thus be petitioned to use their influence and best offices that the injustices mentioned may be avoided."

By Mr. GILLETTE (for himself and Mr. WILSON):

A concurrent resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Iowa; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry:

"House Concurrent Resolution 19

"Whereas in the present emergency which exists relative to the limited supply of food in our country, it has been intimated by members of our administration that the United States might permit the importation into this country of livestock products infected with foot-and-mouth disease; and

"Whereas millions of dollars have been spent and thousands of animals have been killed in the United States to free this country from the ravages of this dreaded disease, and laws in the interest of public health have been enacted by Federal and State governments to require farmers to eliminate such disease from their farms and prevent its spread; and

"Whereas this dreaded contagious disease can be transmitted by fresh and frozen meats as well as by live animals, and strictest regulations and restrictions should be maintained to prevent infection of our domestic herds from such contagious disease now present in foreign countries; and

"Whereas there has been no treatment effective yet conceived in foreign countries to combat and prevent the spread of this disease; and

"Whereas inasmuch as rigid inspection of slaughtering and sale of meat for human consumption is required of our citizens, such condition should also apply to any meat or meat products brought into this country from foreign lands: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the house (the senate concurring), That for the reasons stated in the preamble of this resolution, the Congress of the United States is respectfully requested to continue the embargo against foreign countries now in force until such countries are free from, and have established and have in force adequate sanitary conditions to prevent the spread of, the foot-and-mouth disease; and be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of this preamble and resolution be forwarded to Secretary of Agriculture Claude R. Wickard, to the United States House and Senate Committees on Foreign Relations, to Vice President Henry A. Wallace, to the Honorable George A. Wilson and Honorable Guy M. Gillette, United States Senators from Iowa, and the eight Iowa members of the House of Representatives."

(The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a concurrent resolution identical with the foregoing, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.)

By Mr. THOMAS of Utah:

A joint memorial of the Legislature of the State of Utah; to the Committee on Banking and Currency:

"House Joint Memorial 3

"Joint memorial relating to Federal rent-control legislation and memorializing the President and Congress of the United States to investigate all activities and practices of the Rent Section of the Office of Price Administration

"Whereas rent-control legislation was designed by the Congress to aid in the effective prosecution of the war by avoiding and correcting gross inequities and by preventing speculative, unwarranted, and abnormal rents; and

"Whereas rentals of apartments, homes, motor lodges, rooming houses, hotels, and other rental property in certain Utah areas have been frozen by the Office of Price Administration as of March 1, 1942, effective in most defense rental areas on August 1, 1942; and

"Whereas demand for housing accommodations in various Utah defense areas has not been uniform, that is, some areas received large defense projects as early as 1940, others not until after the rent-freeze date; and

"Whereas agricultural prices and wages paid to labor were not frozen until September 15, 1942, as compared to the freeze date for residential rents March 1, 1942; and

"Whereas landlords have been urged to create additional dwelling units through remodeling of existing structures in order to save critical materials in the expansion of utilities services. Rental rates on such units are established by the War Production Board and the National Housing Agency and landlords have made loans to complete such housing only to have the rents thereon reduced by order of the Office of Price Administration; and

"Whereas costs of operating apartment houses, motor lodges, rooming houses, and other rental property have materially increased, resulting in hardship for many small rental property owners and in some instances property owners who derive their entire livelihood from rental income cannot operate their properties and meet expenses at existing rents; and

"Whereas the rental housing industry in this State was suffering a great vacancy immediately prior to the war emergency due to the great number of residential units constructed under the Federal Housing Administration program, and rentals existing on the freeze date, March 1, 1942, were only slightly higher than those existing during the depths of the depression in 1934: Be it

"Resolved by the Legislature of the State of Utah, That we respectfully urge the Congress of the United States to pass, and the President of the United States to approve, an act requiring a complete investigation of the whole rent-control program, and that area rent directors be given more authority in the administration of the rent-control program, so as to eliminate the inequities in rental rates which now exist; be it further

"Resolved, That a certified copy of this memorial be sent to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, to the Secretary of State, and to each Senator and Representative of the United States Congress from this State."

(The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a memorial identical with the foregoing, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.)

By Mr. BAILEY:

A joint resolution of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina; to the Committee on Military Affairs:

"House Joint Resolution 544

"Joint resolution endorsing the Pharmacy Corps bill (H. R. 997, S. 216) to create a Pharmacy Corps in the United States Army, now pending in the Congress of the United States

"Whereas there is now pending in the Congress of the United States H. R. 997, S. 216, to create a Pharmacy Corps in the United States Army; and

"Whereas there is a definite need in this war emergency for the capable handling of drugs, medicines, and pharmaceuticals which are used in the treatment of diseases of our boys and girls in the armed forces; and

"Whereas at the present there is no law providing for the creation of such a Pharmacy Corps: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the house of representatives (the senate concurring):

"SECTION 1. That the General Assembly of North Carolina does hereby unanimously endorse the Pharmacy Corps bill (H. R. 997, S. 216) and requests the members of Congress to enact the same into law.

"SEC. 2. That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Secretary of War, the Surgeon General of the United States Army, and to the North Carolina Members of Congress.

"SEC. 3. That this resolution shall be in full force and effect from and after its ratification."

(The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a joint resolution identical with the foregoing, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.)

By Mr. McNARY:

A joint memorial of the General Assembly of the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Finance:

"Senate Joint Memorial 4

"To His Excellency the Honorable President of the United States and to the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

"We, your memorialists, the Forty-second Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, in regular session assembled, respectfully represent as follows:

"Whereas the supply of teachers, for the proper and efficient education of the children of Oregon and other States is being rapidly and materially reduced by the higher and unusually attractive compensation offered to employees in war industries and related activities; and

"Whereas such depletion of teaching staffs is augmented by the high standards of living demanded of teachers, coupled with the rising cost of living and the failure of teachers' salaries to be increased proportionately; and

"Whereas the salaries of Oregon teachers, under existing conditions, are so low as automatically to eliminate any possibility of laying by savings in an amount sufficient to provide for old age; and

"Whereas greater security for teachers is in line with the trend of the times and the general movement throughout the Nation is toward liberalizing and broadening the scope and effectiveness of social security; and

"Whereas it is imperative that teachers, like other people, should have that freedom from fear and guaranty of security which come with the reasonable assurance of a job which will prevent want and enable them to live through their declining years in reasonable comfort, with dignity and self-respect and with at least those simple necessities which are essential for peaceful living; and

"Whereas with the single exception of the city of Portland there are no retirement-pay

provisions in Oregon for teachers who have given the best years of their lives in the education and training of the children who are to guide the destinies of this great Nation in the trying years to come; and

"Whereas in order that the highest standards of education shall be maintained, that the schoolroom shall not be forsaken for the employment of higher pay and more alluring promise of future security, and that more, instead of fewer, people shall be prompted and inspired to prepare themselves for, enter into, and remain in that great calling, than which there is none more noble, it is imperative that adequate assurance and dependable safeguards be provided by law in order that those who have served mankind by their loyalty and devotion to the classroom shall not, in their declining years, be made to depend, for the merest existence, upon charity or the meager contributions of relatives; and

"Whereas there is need to make such provisions uniform throughout the several States, and the Federal Social Security Act and provisions, in their general character and purpose, offer the most likely plan or means available for the accomplishment of the aims herein recited: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Senate of the State of Oregon (the house of representatives jointly concurring therein): That the Forty-second Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon hereby respectfully petitions and memorializes the President and the Congress of the United States forthwith to cause to be enacted into the Federal laws such provisions as will include and make suitable provisions for teachers in the social-security plan, or make it permissible for teachers to be included, and thus render it possible and proper for the members of that profession to retire in reasonable competency when their time has arrived for ceasing active duties in the schoolroom; be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of this memorial be sent by the chief clerk of the senate to United States Senators CHARLES L. McNARY and RUFUS C. HOLMAN, and to Congressmen JAMES W. MOTT, HOMER D. ANGELL, LOWELL STOCKMAN, and HARRIS ELLSWORTH, and that they be, and they hereby are, urged to support such legislation as will achieve the aims and purposes of this memorial; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of state of the State of Oregon be authorized, and he hereby is directed, to forward immediately a certified copy of this memorial to the President of the United States, to the President and Chief Clerk of the United States Senate, and to the Speaker and Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States."

(The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a joint memorial identical with the foregoing, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.)

By Mr. McNARY:

A joint memorial of the General Assembly of the State of Oregon; to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys:

"House Joint Memorial 3

"Whereas during the present national emergency the Federal Government has acquired, by purchase and otherwise, large quantities of lands within the State of Oregon; and

"Whereas the counties and other governmental subdivisions and agencies in the State of Oregon are dependent largely upon ad valorem taxes upon real estate for revenue to cover their expenses; and

"Whereas in certain counties and other governmental subdivisions and agencies the removal of real estate from the tax rolls has been so extensive as to cause a serious loss of

revenue and to threaten the proper functioning of such counties and agencies: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Oregon (the senate jointly concurring therein), That the Congress of the United States be, and it hereby is, memorialized to enact such legislation as will lead to the adequate reimbursement of the State of Oregon and its political subdivisions and governmental agencies for the revenue derived from the taxes upon the real property so acquired by the Federal Government; and be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of this memorial be sent to United States Senators CHARLES L. McNARY and RUFUS C. HOLMAN, and to Congressmen JAMES W. MOTT, HOMER D. ANGELL, LOWELL STOCKMAN and HARRIS ELLSWORTH, and that they be and they hereby are requested to support legislation which will make the objective of this memorial effective; and that the secretary of state of the State of Oregon be and he hereby is instructed to forward a certified copy of this memorial to the President of the United States, the President and Chief Clerk of the United States Senate, and to the Speaker and Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States."

(The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a joint memorial identical with the foregoing, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys.)

JOINT RESOLUTION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF RHODE ISLAND—FLORIDA BARGE CANAL

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I present for appropriate reference a joint resolution passed by the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island requesting the Senators and Representatives in Congress from Rhode Island to make every effort to have passed by Congress the necessary appropriation making funds available to complete the barge canal across Florida, in order that oil may be brought by barges from Texas to New Jersey and transshipped there to New England and other northeastern points.

The joint resolution was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and, under the rule, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

House Joint Resolution 693

Joint resolution requesting the Senators and Representatives in Congress from Rhode Island to use every effort to have passed by Congress the necessary appropriation making funds available to complete the barge canal across Florida in order that oil may be brought by barges from Texas to New Jersey and transshipped there to New England and other northeastern points

Whereas there is now pending in the House Ways and Means Committee in Congress a bill appropriating \$44,000,000 for the construction of the Florida barge canal as a practical way of helping assure a more adequate supply of fuel for New England and other northeastern points next winter; and

Whereas all that is necessary to complete the route from the oil field area to New Jersey is the barge canal across Florida, tying together the two existing waterways; and

Whereas construction of the canal was authorized by vote of Congress last July, but the beginning of work awaits the passage of the appropriation making funds available: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senators and Representatives from Rhode Island in the Congress of the United States be and they hereby are requested to use every effort to have passed

by Congress the necessary appropriation making funds available to complete the barge canal across Florida in order that oil may be brought by barges from Texas to New Jersey and transshipped there to New England and other northeastern points; and be it further

Resolved, That duly certified copies of this resolution be transmitted by the secretary of state to the Senators and Representatives from Rhode Island in the Congress of the United States.

CANCELLATION OF CERTAIN FARM LOANS—RESOLUTION OF NORMA FARMERS UNION, LOCAL 726, NORTH DAKOTA

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I present and ask to have printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred a resolution adopted by the Norma Farmers Union, Local 726, signed by Albert G. Lahlum, president, and Clarence Langem, secretary, of Fingal, N. Dak., urging the enactment of legislation to provide for the immediate cancellation of all seed, feed, and crop-production and harvesting loans.

There being no objection, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the farmers of our country are urged to produce as much crops and livestock as possible this year, and which they are willing to do as far as possible; and

Whereas more operating capital is needed due to higher-priced seed, machinery, and labor than in former years; and

Whereas there is now a measure before Congress, S. 574, which provides for immediate cancellation of all seed, feed, and crop-production and harvesting loans made to farmers from 1937 to 1939: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we the members of Norma Farmers Union, Local 726, urge our Senators and Representatives in Congress to use their best efforts to secure the passage of this measure, and that copies of this resolution be sent to our Senators and Representatives in Congress, namely: GERALD P. NYE, WILLIAM LANGER, USHER L. BURDICK, and WILLIAM LEMKE.

THE FOOD PRODUCTION PROGRAM

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I present and ask to have printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred a letter received by me from Mr. Kelly Williams, a well-known farmer of Hankinson, N. Dak.

There being no objection, the letter was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HANKINSON, N. DAK., February 22, 1943.
HON. WILLIAM LANGER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am naturally taking a very keen interest in the progress of the food-production program, and, in noting what is being said and done, one is reminded of the three blind men that went to examine the elephant. They can't seem to see the problem clearly or see it as a whole, but they are wrestling with it. But time is running out awful fast.

They seem to know that adequate prices must be offered to produce the greatest possible efforts by the farmers, and they are finding out that the labor factor is a vital one, but they don't seem to know that spring is here and that any action, to be effective, must be taken at once. They are responsible for the machinery shortage and for the labor shortage, and now by delaying action they are creating a time shortage, and that is the most vital factor of all, as the planting time

of any grain extends over only a few days and any later planting cannot, and will not, yield and mature a full crop, so it would seem the only course open is to make available to the farmers—starting right now—farm machinery and competent farm labor, and as between an army without food and food without an army, it would seem that to furlough soldiers to the farms through the rush seasons of seed time and harvest—2 or 3 months—and hold them in training the balance of the year would be the best solution, but steps should be taken to send farm-raised boys only that understand all kinds of farm work. But there is another angle to the problem, more obscure, that has not been raised, which I believe ought to be brought to the attention of both Mr. Wickard and Mr. McNutt. To illustrate: I have two cousins, both in the North Dakota Legislature—Williams, of Richland, and Williams, of Sargent County. Both are progressive, diversified farmers, turning off annually up to \$8,000 or \$10,000 in grain, meat animals, and dairy and poultry products. They are both past working age, and both have a younger son on their farms that are up to date, ambitious master farmers. Such men are vital to maximum food production, and if drafted could not possibly be replaced, and the farms they operate would be forced out of full production; and these are not exceptional cases but rather the rule in every farming community from coast to coast, so it follows that indiscriminate drafting of farm men can conceivably result in a tragic food shortage for which there would be no visible cause.

I firmly believe this angle should receive the most careful attention, as it seems to me to be entirely overlooked.

Personally we are sitting pretty to carry on our own farm operations, and are speaking only for the good of the country as a whole.

If this will be of any use to you down there in your labors, I will be very happy.

As ever,

TULLY WILLIAMS.

CANCELLATION OF SEED AND FEED LOANS—RESOLUTION OF NORTH DAKOTA LEGISLATURE

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, on behalf of my colleague the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. NYE] and myself I present and ask to have appropriately referred a house concurrent resolution adopted by the North Dakota Legislature relative to the cancellation of seed and feed loans.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, and, under the rule, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

House Concurrent Resolution N

Concurrent resolution memorializing Congress to take action for the enactment into law of Senate bill 574 now pending in United States Congress

Whereas the farmers of the United States by producing the food products of the Nation are rendering society a great service; and

Whereas this country is now engaged in a great conflict and the farmers of the State of North Dakota are eager to contribute every effort to winning the war by planting the largest acreage of a wartime crop in the history of this State; and

Whereas for several years the farmers of this State of North Dakota suffered extreme drought which made it necessary for them to go on relief, to borrow money to purchase seed and feed, and due to such economic emergencies it cost them more to operate their farms than they received from the producing of crops: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of North Dakota (the senate concurring). That we memorialize, petition, and urge the United States Congress to take such steps as are necessary to enact into law Senate bill No. 574, which provides for the cancellation of seed and feed loans prior to 1937; and be it further

Resolved. That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to each Member of Congress from North Dakota, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Secretary of the United States Department of Agriculture, chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, and to the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives.

(The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a concurrent resolution identical with the foregoing, which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.)

LIMITATION OF INCOMES—PETITION OF JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred a petition, in the form of a letter, which I have received from James Truslow Adams, of Southport, Conn. Mr. Adams, as everyone here knows, is an outstanding historian. I do not endorse the salary limitation order—or Mr. Adams' petition.

There being no objection, the letter in the nature of a petition was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOUTHPORT, CONN., February 25, 1943.

Senator F. T. MALONEY,
The Willard, Washington, D. C.

A FIRE BELL IN THE NIGHT

MY DEAR SENATOR MALONEY: In 1820 Thomas Jefferson said of the passage of the Missouri Compromise that it startled him like "a fire bell in the night." It did so because its brazen tongue rang out the news that a great national and constitutional crisis was approaching.

Occupied with war, and endeavoring to unify our effort to win it, we Americans of today have again been startled by "a fire bell in the night," the amazing letter of the President to Chairman DOUGHTON of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives. To many it appears as one of the most pernicious and dangerous communications ever transmitted from the Executive to the legislative branch of government. It is of vital importance to every American, but in part its contents are the more immediate and primary concern of Congress, and in part of the citizens themselves.

It is for Congress to consider its economic implications. The limitation of all incomes, net after taxes, to \$25,000 is not anti-inflationary. That has been shown. It is not a new revenue measure, for Colin F. Stam, expert of the Joint Congressional Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, reports that official Treasury figures show that it will result in a loss of \$100,000,000 of taxes to the Treasury. Such, and other technical financial problems, are in the domain of our elected representatives in both the Houses.

What concerns the citizen is the appeal in the letter to class hatred when the need of the time is for unity; its misleading suggestions, such as that anyone in the Nation is now getting a net salary of \$500,000; its comparison of such a falsely assumed income with that of the \$600 of a soldier, whereas nothing is suggested as to the inequity of real income of labor at home in safety as contrasted with the pay of the soldier at the front; its plan of coddling home labor at the expense of the soldier who risks his life and the executive who has the responsibility for

invention and for organizing the vast turnover of industry from civilian to military use; its demagogic and alliterative appeal in such a phrase as "coupon clipper" when the Treasury is appealing to all to become coupon clippers; in a word, its setting of class against class by means of misrepresentation to many of those who will read it without knowledge.

Above all, however, the letter is the concern of the citizen because of its open threat to our whole form of government, which has been based on the separation of powers. The theory of that separation has been well understood, as balanced between the executive, the judicial, and the legislative departments. Today the President, owing in part to his unexampled years of tenure of office, has made not only a majority of the Supreme Court but also a great majority of all Federal judges his appointees. Congress, for a while, largely abdicated its functions, which it handed over not merely to the Executive but to his petty minions, the devisers of rules in innumerable boards and commissions.

The President asked Congress for legislation limiting incomes to \$25,000. Congress disapproved and declined to pass any such law. Then the President, making use of a verbal loophole, which leaders of Congress had been assured he would not use for the purpose, made his own law by Executive decree. Now he tells Congress he will rescind his decree if they will pass the law he demands. Already largely in control of the courts, having assumed many of the functions of Congress, he now publicly intimates that he has the whip hand over that body, which is to do his bidding, or else.

I do not know what the reactions of the Members of Congress were, but I believe that that of the average old-fashioned real American, conversant with the history and theory of Government of his country, was that he had been slapped in the face. "What is the use," he asked himself, "of electing nearly 600 Members of a Congress, at a salary of \$10,000 a year each, to legislate for us, if their wishes are flouted, on the one hand, and they are merely told, on the other, how to vote, by one man?" If the Executive can control the courts and the Congress, then what are we fighting this war for?

Other peoples, with far longer political experience and as much love of liberty as our own, are thinking the same thoughts. A few years ago a Lord Chief Justice of England wrote in his book, *The New Despotism*, that—"Of all methods of administration, that is worst whereby real power is in the hands of one set of persons while public responsibility belongs to another. * * * It is a method, as all experience shows, well calculated to encourage the performance of acts which either set of persons, if they had both the responsibility and the power, would be astute to avoid."

Recently another Englishman has written that—

"Next to the supreme calamities of abandoning the Christian religion, or defeat in war, none could be greater than that Britain and America should become regimented nations. The lights would indeed go out. A merciful Providence has given the Americans a sense of the dangers. But in Britain there is cause for anxiety. The nation must beware lest the deadly influence of some un-English creeds sap our strength."

Are we in America indeed so blessed by Providence? Are we so sure of our future? Are we too sure? When we hear the "fire bell in the night," are we to turn over and go to sleep, murmuring "it's not my house," or rise and gird ourselves to fight what may yet become a conflagration that shall consume all which we have held dear?

As individual citizens we cannot all write letters or articles? We cannot march en masse to Washington. We have elected our Members of Congress, Senators and Representatives alike, to legislate wisely but, above

all, we count on them to preserve those institutions for us and our children which in the past have made America free and great. Today on Congress there lies heavy the greatest responsibility possible in all its long and great history. On it alone can we count.

I have done my modest best both by written and also many unwritten words, to maintain unity and to forward the national effort for victory. I shall continue to do so, but there are occasions so momentous that they force a man to speak even when he would rather keep silence. I cannot assume to speak for all America, but I am confident that I do speak for a very much larger number of Americans than perhaps even Congress itself realizes, when, with all the fervor of patriotism I possess, I beg the Members of that body on behalf of myself and the other citizens who have elected them to their posts of responsibility and national duty, to resume into their own hands those powers which are theirs under our form of government and which, duly exercised, can alone preserve us as a nation of free, self-governing, and self-respecting men.

We still have the right of petition, and this is the petition which I am convinced is in the minds and hearts of millions of your constituents, "Win us freedom by victory over our enemies; and preserve that freedom afterward by a government of laws and not of men and minions."

Sincerely yours,

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS.

MEMORIAL OF MONTANA LEGISLATURE—GRANT OF CIVIL RIGHTS TO INDIANS

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I present and ask consent to have printed in the RECORD and appropriately referred a resolution memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact suitable legislation to grant full civil rights to Indians who are members of or who have served the United States in any war in which the United States was engaged.

The joint memorial was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and, under the rule, ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

House Joint Memorial 7

Joint memorial memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact suitable legislation to grant full and complete civil rights to all Indians who are members of or who served in the United States in any war in which the United States is a part

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

Whereas on December 7, 1941, when Pearl Harbor was so treacherously attacked by the Japs, all hearts were stirred to their depths all over America, and our Heavenly Father knows that many Indian people were on their knees that day, the same as many sons' mothers bended the knee throughout our beloved land; and

Whereas the American Indians have proven undivided loyalty to the principles of democracy, justice, and equality to all men by enlisting in the armed forces of the United States of America in the First World War and in the present global conflict; and

Whereas the honored dead of the Montana Indians represents a proud record equal, and sometimes even surpassing, the zeal of other races, and attestation of this is confirmed by the awards granted by many nations for distinguished service and valor; and

Whereas subsequent to the First World War the Congress of the United States, recognizing these undeniable facts, enacted the Indian Citizenship Act of June 2, 1924, granting a limited right of franchise; and

Whereas the American people in many ways have manifested a desire that the American

Congress recognize the Indian soldiers and others in the various services as an integral part of the American people by granting the many privileges enjoyed by all soldiers of other services; and

Whereas, notwithstanding the fact that the American Indian is the smallest minority of all the many races in the United States—less than one-half million—and specific peace treaties signed with the Government not to take up arms again and pledging undying devotion and loyalty "from where the sun now stands," the rate of enlistment is the highest throughout the Nation; and

Whereas such devotion and loyalty to a protecting Nation such as the Stars and Stripes have represented must be persuasive to the American people and the American Congress compelling them to bring them under the glorious folds of the Atlantic Charter, proclaimed to the world as a milepost in the progress of humanity to a better world: And now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House and Senate of the Twenty-eighth Legislative Assembly of Montana, assembled at the State capitol at Helena, Mont., That it memorializes the first session of the Seventy-eighth Congress of the United States of America now assembled in session that it enact into law H. R. 5212, Seventy-seventh Congress, or some such similar legislation for the purpose of granting full and complete civil rights to all Indians who are members of or otherwise served in the armed services of the United States in any war that the United States is a party thereto;

Provided further, That in granting full rights enjoyed by other citizens of the United States, all acts, or parts of acts, found in conflict with this proposed legislation found to deny the said American Indian soldier the free exercise of control of all personal and real estate shall be considered inapplicable or repealed in such cases; and

Provided further, That copies of this memorial be furnished by the Secretary of State to each of our Senators and Congressmen from Montana, with the request that legislation be immediately introduced and pressed for passage in order to adjust an error of long standing, and to give a legal right that justly belongs to the American Indian soldier, who in many cases has paid dearly for this American right.

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION OF CERTAIN PERSONS

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that several letters, postal cards, and telegrams with reference to Senate bill 180 be inserted in the RECORD and lie on the table.

There being no objection, the communications were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GREAT FALLS, MONT., February 24, 1943.

Please work for a separate veterans' bill providing for vocational rehabilitation for disabled World War No. 2 veterans, to be administered by the Veterans' Administration.

MARGARET HOLLAND,
American Legion Auxiliary
Legislative Chairman.

DEAR SENATOR: Your support of H. R. 801 will be appreciated. Also support of a separate veterans' bill providing vocational rehabilitation for disabled World War No. 2 veterans, to be administered by the Veterans' Administration. Please reply.

Thank you,

Mrs. J. R. SIMPSON,
Culbertson, Mont.

MILES CITY, MONT., March 2, 1943.

Senator B. K. WHEELER:

We desire your support of veterans' bill, S. 786, by Clark Walsh or veterans' section in S. 180, La Follette bill, but separate from civilian section. Our desire that civilian and veterans' benefits be subjects of separate legislation.

CHARLES M. HATCH, Adjutant,
Custer Post No. 5, American Legion.

HOMESTEAD, MONT., March 3, 1943.

Senator BURTON K. WHEELER,
Washington, D. C.:

Your support and aid in passage of Clark-Walsh bill, S. 786, or separate veterans from civilian section in La Follette bill, S. 180, will be greatly appreciated.

AMERICAN LEGION Post, No. 49,
V. E. JOHNSON, Commander.
G. J. PATTISON, Adjutant.

HAMILTON, MONT., March 2, 1943.

Senator B. K. Wheeler,
Washington, D. C.:

Legion Post No. 47 favors supporting S. 786, or the separation of veterans section from S. 180.

A. L. POST No. 47.

CHOTEAU, MONT., February 27, 1943.

Senator B. K. WHEELER,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:
Respectfully request you oppose passage Senate bill S. 180, which would combine vocational rehabilitation for civilians and veterans. We ask that you support the Clark-Walsh measure, S. 786, or have veterans section in La Follette bill, S. 180, separated from civilian section. Our post most strenuously opposes any measure combining civilian and veterans' benefits.

C. JAMES SMITH POST No. 6,
By WALTER J. HITCHCOCK,
Post Commander.

BILLINGS, MONT., February 27, 1943.

B. K. WHEELER,

Senator from Montana:

Our post wishes passage of Clark-Walsh S. 786, or veterans section in S. 180, La Follette, if separated from civilian section. Violently opposed to civilian and veterans rehabilitation combined in one bill.

YELLOWSTONE POST, No. 4, AMERICAN LEGION.

KALISPELL, MONT., March 1, 1943.

Senator B. K. WHEELER:

Urgent opposition S. 180, unless civilians section eliminated. Favor S. 786.

UNIT No. 7, AMERICAN LEGION AUXILIARY.

CONRAD, MONT., March 3, 1943.

Senator B. K. WHEELER,

Washington, D. C.:
Pondera Post No. 37 on record favoring passage of Clark-Walsh S. 786; asking you to support it and oppose any move to combine civilian and veteran rehabilitation.

DAVE HUMBLE,
Adjutant, Pondera Post,
American Legion.

BAKER, MONT., February 28, 1943.

Senator BURTON K. WHEELER,

Montana Senator, Washington, D. C.:
Legion desires passage S. 786, or veterans section in S. 180, La Follette bill, be separated from civilian section.

J. E. PUGH,
Commander, Fallon Post, No. 35,
American Legion.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 28, 1943.

HON. BURTON K. WHEELER,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:
We earnestly urge that when Senate bill 180 comes up in Senate today you vote to

delete title one and all reference to disabled veterans and Veterans' Administration in other titles or to defer action on such bill until Senate Finance Committee completes hearings and reports bill now being considered to provide vocational rehabilitation to disabled veterans which latter bill we much prefer.

MILLARD W. RICE,
National Service Director,
Disabled American Veterans.

STATE OF MONTANA,

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,
Helena, Mont., February 15, 1943.

The Honorable BURTON K. WHEELER,
The United States Senate,

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR WHEELER: The Seventy-seventh Congress closed without the Barden committee having made a report. However, on January 6, 1943, Representative BARDEN introduced H. R. 699, while Senator LA FOLLETTE introduced the companion bill, S. 180, on January 7, 1943.

This new bill, while it provides for active participation by the Veterans' Administration in the rehabilitation of disabled soldiers, still retains nearly every objectionable feature of last fall's bill, since it provides that all vocational rehabilitation services to disabled civilians, with the exception of the actual training, are to be rendered directly by a new, completely federalized service in the office of the Federal Security Administrator. While State boards for vocational education are to give the training, such training can be given only to such persons as are certified by the Federal Security Administrator.

To show how far the trend toward complete federalization is authorized, and also to indicate that such legislation as is proposed would sooner or later strip the State board of vocational education of their responsibility for the training of handicapped persons, it may be pointed out that in section 401 (f) of H. R. 699 and S. 180, the Federal Security Administrator and the Administrator of the Veterans' Affairs "are respectively authorized . . . to delegate to any officer or employee, or to any agency, . . . of any State, Territory, or possession of the United States, or of any political subdivision of any of them such of their respective powers and duties . . . as they find necessary or expedient in carrying out the purposes of this act." Under such sweeping authority a State staff could be federalized overnight by arbitrary fiat, or a welfare agency could be given the responsibility for training.

I am registering for the State department of public instruction of Montana and many others who are wholly in accord with our opinion, opposition to S. 180 and H. R. 699 and ask that any legislation providing for an expansion of vocational rehabilitation facilities be in harmony with the three following fundamental principles:

1. Full responsibility for all services needed by disabled veterans, including physical and vocational rehabilitation, should be vested in the Government's agency for veterans—the Veterans' Administration.

2. All educational and training services for disabled civilians should be provided by the established agencies for education, Federal and State.

3. All medical services needed by disabled civilians to fit them to profit from vocational rehabilitation should be rendered by the United States Public Health Service and the State departments of health.

The acceptance of these three vitally important principles will keep educational or training functions for civilians where they should be, namely, in the United States Office of Education and the State boards for vocational education. As pointed out above, the proposed legislation would establish in the Federal Security Agency a new Federal or-

ganization to administer both medical services and training. If this happens, how long do you suppose it will be before a similar new organization will be set up in each State?

Sincerely yours,

ELIZABETH IRELAND,
State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

AMERICAN LEGION AUXILIARY,
Laurel, Mont., February 24, 1943.

HON. BURTON K. WHEELER,
United States Senator,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WHEELER: Two general bills, providing vocational rehabilitation, have been introduced in the House and Senate: H. R. 699 by Congressman BARDEN, of North Carolina, and S. 180 by Senator LA FOLLETTE, Wisconsin. These are in two sections, the first providing vocational rehabilitation for members of the armed forces disabled during the present war and the second section provides vocational rehabilitation for certain disabled civilians.

The Laurel unit of the American Legion Auxiliary desires that the veterans' section be separated from the civilian section in the La Follette bill. We also wish to point out that vocational rehabilitation for those disabled veterans now being discharged is of immediate concern and should not be confused with any other subject which might delay passage of our legislation.

Will you please give this your careful consideration?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. G. R. OLMSTEAD,
Unit Legislative Chairman,
Laurel American Legion Auxiliary.

KALISPELL, MONT.,
February 25, 1943.

HON. BURTON K. WHEELER,
Senator from Montana,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR WHEELER: May I call your attention to Senate bill No. 180, introduced by Senator LA FOLLETTE, Wisconsin? This bill is in two sections, the first providing vocational rehabilitation for members of the armed forces disabled during the present war and the second section provides vocational rehabilitation for certain disabled civilians.

The American Legion requests that vocational rehabilitation for service-connected disabled veterans and for civilians be the subject of separate legislation, and that the veterans' section be separated from the civilian section in the La Follette bill.

I believe that vocational rehabilitation for those disabled veterans now being discharged is of immediate concern and should not be confused with any other subject which may delay its passage.

As a member of the American Legion Auxiliary and also the mother of a boy in the service, may I urge your active support of a separate veterans' bill providing vocational rehabilitation for disabled World War No. 2 veterans, to be administered by the Veterans' Administration?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. LELAND AGGSON.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., February 26, 1943.
To all Members of the United States Senate:

It is understood an effort will be made on Monday, March 1, to bring before the Senate for a vote S. 180, a bill to provide vocational rehabilitation, education, training, and other services to persons disabled while members of the armed forces, or disabled in war industries or otherwise and to render such persons fit for service in war industries, agriculture, or other useful civilian industry.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, and other veteran organizations, are not opposed to vocational rehabilitation of industrial workers and others whose disabilities are not the result of military and naval service, but we are definitely and unalterably opposed to the inclusion of such persons in a bill which covers the rehabilitation of war veterans. We maintain that the rehabilitation of nonveterans should be covered by a separate bill and the question decided upon its own merits—not as an adjunct to the long-established principle of rehabilitation of veterans.

Veteran organizations are supporting S. 786, a bill to amend title I of Public Law No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, March 20, 1933, and the Veterans Regulations to provide for rehabilitation of disabled veterans, introduced by Mr. WALSH (for himself and Mr. CLARK of Missouri), and we respectfully, but urgently, request that Members of the Senate take whatever action is necessary to delay active consideration of S. 180 until S. 786 has been reported out by the Committee on Finance and all Members have had an opportunity to study its provisions and the committee report.

We urge that preference be given to S. 786 insofar as the problem of rehabilitation of veterans is concerned. If, in the consideration of S. 180 it is forced to a vote, may we suggest that title II and all other reference to disabled war veterans be deleted from the bill.

Your cooperation to this end will be deeply appreciated by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

Respectfully yours,
OMAR B. KETCHUM,
National Legislative Representative.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma, from the Committee on Indian Affairs:

S. 23. A bill authorizing the Western Bands of the Shoshone Nation of Indians to sue in the Court of Claims; without amendment (Rept. No. 79);

S. 24. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents for certain lands to certain settlers in the Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation, Nev., without amendment (Rept. No. 80);

S. 170. A bill for the relief of W. Cooke; without amendment (Rept. No. 81);

S. 169. A bill designating the fourth Saturday in September of each year as American Indian Day; without amendment (Rept. No. 84);

S. 445. A bill authorizing an appropriation for payment to the Osage Tribe of Indians on account of their lands sold by the United States; without amendment (Rept. No. 82); and

S. 670. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear and determine the claims of the Prairie Band or Tribe of Pottawatomie Indians of Kansas and Wisconsin against the United States; without amendment (Rept. No. 83).

By Mr. WHEELER, from the Committee on Indian Affairs:

S. 168. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, examine, adjudicate, and render judgment in any and all claims which the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of Indians of the Flathead Reservation in Montana, or any tribe or band thereof, may have against the United States, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 85);

S. 409. A bill authorizing the Arapahoe and Cheyenne Indians or any band thereof to submit their claims against the United States to the Court of Claims, and for other

purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 86); and

S. J. Res. 19. Joint resolution to amend the act of July 3, 1926, entitled "An act conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, examine, adjudicate, and render judgment in claims which the Crow Tribe of Indians may have against the United States, and for other purposes" (44 Stat. L. 807); without amendment (Rept. No. 87).

By Mr. WALSH, from the Committee on Naval Affairs:

H. R. 1692. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. No. 88).

By Mr. WILEY, from the Committee on Claims:

H. R. 598. A bill for the relief of Thelma Cannon McGroary; without amendment (Rept. No. 89);

H. R. 1276. A bill for the relief of Raymond W. Baldwin, Mattie Baldwin, and Clement B. Baldwin; without amendment (Rept. No. 90); and

H. R. 1459. A bill for the relief of Albertine Nast; without amendment (Rept. No. 91).

By Mr. EASTLAND, from the Committee on Claims:

S. 743. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Walter H. Kinton; without amendment (Rept. No. 94).

By Mr. TUNNELL, from the Committee on Claims:

S. 652. A bill for the relief of Joseph A. Lassiter; with an amendment (Rept. No. 95).

INVESTIGATION OF VARIOUS BRANCHES OF THE NATIONAL HOUSING AGENCY

Mr. THOMAS of Utah, from the Committee on Education and Labor, to which was referred the resolution (S. Res. 112) to investigate the various branches of the National Housing Agency, reported it without amendment and submitted a report (No. 92) thereon; and on request of Mr. THOMAS of Utah, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

DEFERMENT FROM MILITARY SERVICE OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS—REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS: MINORITY VIEWS

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 729) providing for the deferment from military service of persons engaged in agricultural occupations, reported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 93) thereon.

Mr. O'MAHONEY, as a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, submitted the views of the minority of that committee on the bill (S. 729) providing for the deferment from military service of persons engaged in agricultural occupations, which were ordered to be printed in connection with Senate Report 93.

REPORTS ON DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

Mr. BARKLEY, from the Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers, to which were referred for examination and recommendation two lists of records transmitted to the Senate by the Archivist of the United States that appeared to have no permanent value or historical interest, submitted reports thereon pursuant to law.

ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED

Mrs. CARAWAY, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that on March 2, 1943, that committee presented to the President of the United States the enrolled bill (S. 641) to amend section 6 of the Pay Readjustment Act of 1942, relating to the payment of rental allowances to certain officers.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri:

S. 815. A bill to amend section 301, World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended, to authorize renewal of expiring 5-year level premium term policies of those in active military or naval service and certain others outside the continental limits of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. GREEN:

S. 816. A bill permitting the naturalization of certain persons not citizens whose husbands, sons, or daughters have served with the land or naval forces of the United States; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. BONE:

S. 817. A bill for the relief of George A. Rogers; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 818. A bill for the relief of Anne Locker; to the Committee on Civil Service.

S. 819. A bill to revise the military record of George M. Grubacich; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BYRD:

S. 820. A bill relating to the acquisition and use of certain motor vehicles by the various agencies of the Government; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAYDEN:

S. 821. A bill to amend the Act entitled "An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1916, as amended and supplemented, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. TRUMAN:

S. 822. A bill to amend the Bituminous Coal Act of 1937, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

By Mr. CAPPER:

S. 823. A bill transferring the administration of the Federal Credit Union Act to the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. McNARY:

S. 824. A bill for the relief of Dr. J. W. Goin; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 825. A bill authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to convey to the port of Cascade Locks, Oreg., certain lands for municipal purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. WILEY:

S. 826. A bill for the relief of John F. L. O'Leary; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 827. A bill to amend the act of December 17, 1919, as amended and supplemented, so as to provide for payment of 6 months' gratuity benefits to the parents of persons without wives or children who die in line of duty in the active military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 828. A bill to prohibit the mailing of propaganda disseminated by agents of foreign principals unless the source of such propaganda is identified therein; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. WALSH:

S. 829. A bill to amend Sections 6 and 11 of the act approved July 24, 1941, entitled "An act authorizing the temporary appointment or advancement of certain personnel of the Navy and Marine Corps, and for other

purposes", as amended, to provide for the grade of commodore, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WALSH (for himself and Mr. Lodge):

S. 830. A bill to provide for the reimbursement of the town of Lancaster, Mass., for the loss of taxes on certain property in such town acquired by the United States for use for military purposes; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. REYNOLDS:

S. 831. A bill to permit the shipment tax-free of certain tobacco products to Territories of the United States for the use of members of the military and naval forces of the United States; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. BRIDGES:

S. 832. A bill relating to the sale of horse meat or food products thereof in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. JOHNSON of California:

S. 833. A bill to provide for an additional naval academy to be located on the Pacific coast of the United States; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. BARKLEY (for Mr. ANDREWS):

S. 834. A bill for the relief of Josefa M. Grandal; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. EASTLAND:

S. 835. A bill to exclude from gross income, for purposes of Federal income tax, amounts received as compensation for active service in the military or naval forces of the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. LODGE:

S. 836 (by request). A bill to provide for the payment of overtime compensation to Government employees, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Civil Service.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 837. A bill for the relief of the leader of the Naval Academy Band; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. LA FOLLETTE:

S. 838. A bill to provide vocational rehabilitation to persons disabled in war industries or otherwise and to render such persons fit for service in war industries, agriculture, or other useful civilian industry, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

DEFERMENT FROM MILITARY SERVICE OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS—AMENDMENT

Mr. O'MAHONEY submitted an amendment in the nature of a substitute intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 729) providing for the deferment from military service of persons engaged in agricultural occupations, which was ordered to lie on the table, to be printed, and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. O'MAHONEY to the bill (S. 729) providing for the deferment from military service of persons engaged in agricultural occupations, viz: Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

"That section 5 (k) of the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 as amended be amended by adding the following proviso:

"Provided further, That for the purposes of this subsection, a registrant shall be found by his selective service local board to be necessary to and regularly engaged in an agricultural occupation or endeavor essential to the war effort (1) if he is engaged substantially full time in the production of agricultural commodities certified to the Selective Service System by the Secretary of Agriculture as being essential to the war effort and set forth in local board release No. 164, effective January 16, 1943, and (2) if the production of such commodities attributable

to such registrant is at least equal to the minimum standard of production per person as set forth in such release No. 164: *Provided further*, That the Secretary of Agriculture may from time to time certify to the Selective Service System for the purposes of this subsection such additional agricultural commodities as in his judgment are essential to the war effort, together with the minimum standard of production per person which he determines to be applicable to such additional agricultural commodities."

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Finance Committee be discharged from the further consideration of the bill (S. 659) prohibiting loss of retired pay to certain persons who accept essential employment during the present war, introduced by the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] and that the bill be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. The bill seems to me to be an appropriate one for consideration by the Committee on Military Affairs, rather than by the Committee on Finance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BANKHEAD in the chair). Is there objection?

Mr. GEORGE. I have talked with the author of the bill, and he agrees. I had the impression that, by an order of the Senate, the bill had been transferred.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the Committee on Finance will be discharged from the further consideration of the bill, and the bill will be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

CONDEMNATION OF OUTRAGES INFLECTED UPON CIVILIANS IN NAZI OCCUPIED COUNTRIES AND PUNISHMENT OF PERSONS RESPONSIBLE THEREFOR

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I submit a concurrent resolution, and ask that, for the time being, it lie on the table without reference. I may ask later to have it taken up by unanimous consent.

The concurrent resolution (S. Con. 9) was ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

Whereas the American people view with indignation the atrocities inflicted upon the civilian population in the Nazi-occupied countries, and especially the mass murder of Jewish men, women, and children; and

Whereas this policy of the Nazis has created a reign of terror, brutality, and extermination in Poland and other countries in eastern and central Europe: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the house of representatives concurring). That these brutal and indefensible outrages against millions of helpless men, women, and children should be and they are hereby condemned as unworthy of any nation or any regime which pretends to be civilized:

Resolved further, That the dictates of humanity and honorable conduct in war demand that this inexcusable slaughter and mistreatment shall cease and that it is the sense of this Congress that those guilty, directly or indirectly, of these criminal acts shall be held accountable and punished in a manner commensurate with the offenses for which they are responsible.

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I should like to say a few words in connection with the concurrent resolution

which has just been submitted by the Senator from Kentucky.

In this formal resolution, if adopted, the Congress of the United States, following the example set by the British Parliament, will express the reaction of the civilized world toward Hitler's campaign of deliberate murder of millions of Jews in occupied Europe. I am certain that every Member of this body, and every right-thinking American of all races and creeds, concurs wholeheartedly in the terms of the resolution itself. The American people spoke their minds at a great mass meeting last Monday night in Madison Square Garden in New York City, under the auspices of the American Jewish Congress, American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Church Peace Union, and the Free World Association. Rather than take the time of the Senate with an extended statement, I ask unanimous consent to have printed as part of my remarks some of the major addresses delivered at the meeting, including one by myself transmitted by direct wire from Washington.

The Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Sumner Welles, has already announced that a meeting will be held at Ottawa between representatives of our own and the British Government to explore the possibilities of further aid and rescue. I am convinced that some further practical measures can still be taken to rescue many thousands of these innocent, unfortunate people from Hitler's vengeance. I pray that a definite practical program may be promptly adopted as a cooperative United Nations effort. This would be democracy's answer to Hitler's campaign of barbarism, and an example of our unity, our strength, and our common resolve to perpetuate the ideals for which we fight.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the addresses referred to will be printed in the RECORD.

The addresses are as follows:

HON. WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

In recent decades we have seen this great civilization of ours challenged more than once. We have seen it withstand the ravages of an economic depression which served as the occasion or excuse for throwing Germany into the arms of a modern Genghis Khan. Now our society is being tested in the crucible of war—a war distinguished not only by the magnitude of its military machines but also by new techniques of terror employed by our enemies.

At such a time it is but natural that we should feel the need for a restatement of our ideals. What kind of people are we? Why are we such a disturbing and dangerous symbol to the aggressors? What is the foundation of this society which today faces the mechanized might of the totalitarian states?

The foundation of our society is the minority. It is not merely the minority based on race, creed, or color. It is first and foremost the smallest minority of all—the individual conscience. Hitler would say: "What a weak rod on which to lean in comparison with the forced unanimity of my people. How can one man dare to hold out against the state?"

We know the answer. America has always known the answer. Recognition of the smallest minority is written in blood as well as ink

in our Bill of Rights. That precious document represents a great historic struggle to make men free. It is the cornerstone on which our cultural and spiritual values rest. It is a constant reminder to us that once we strike down the expression of ideas which we despise we have forged an instrument for the suppression of ideas which we cherish. We know that the constitutional safeguards of equal justice under the law are absolutely essential to the preservation of liberty. For history has shown that once persecution is unleashed on one minority it spreads like a blight. We know that man is strong only when man is free, that man is free only when he has those inalienable rights proclaimed by our Declaration of Independence.

America, like the individual American, has gained its great and unique strength from this respect for the smallest minority. Some of the ancients had as a symbol of unity and strength bundles of sticks which, built together, could not be broken. That has been our symbol, too. We display it with pride alongside the oldest slogan of our Nation—"E pluribus unum"—out of many, one. We have always been a Nation of minorities. No one group can control this free peoples.

Again and again protest and rebellion against unjustified power have strengthened, not weakened this Nation. It has helped to create the great United America that we are today. The Puritans rebelled against the haughty power of the Anglican Church. But when they themselves became intolerant, there was a Roger Williams to challenge them. And so it has happened over and over again in the history of this country. At times it was but a single voice which later swelled into a chorus. So it was over 30 years ago when the Nation first heard the mighty voice of a great dissenter, Louis D. Brandeis. He said to those who were using financial and economic power for purposes of exploitation: "You shall not encroach upon the people's freedom. Power and responsibility must go hand in hand. Mankind, not the corporation, comes first."

Hitler has challenged this society of ours. In blind obedience to his pagan lust he has wrecked the culture that has nourished our civilization for 2,000 years. Japan has challenged it in her savage defiance of any right other than that which the sword creates. Both are attempting to weaken us at home by wrenching at the bonds which unite our innumerable minorities into one indivisible America.

They cannot succeed. For we believe in and are dedicated to majority rule. We know that our majority is created out of minorities who know how to live together, how to work together, and how to stick together. That is our training, our tradition, our experience, our strength. That art is one of America's unique contributions to the history of government. It is that art which will not only win the war. It will also preserve the peace we earn.

THE RIGHT REVEREND HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER, D. D., PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES AND PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST

Those who profess belief in the fatherhood of God thereby accept the brotherhood of man as the true goal of human society.

We Americans have to confess that prejudice, pride, and self-interest too frequently have led us to disregard in practice this moral obligation to deal with all men in the spirit of brotherhood.

Yet even when we are guilty of the most flagrant violation of the principle of brotherhood we recognize its validity. This recognition often serves to hold within limits the injustice which we inflict upon those who differ from us in race or creed or class.

During the nineteenth century the scope of our application of the principle of brother-

hood was greatly widened, so that we were led to look forward to the realization of the ideal of the brotherhood of man throughout the world. This hope has received a rude shock in the present war.

The Germans, under the leadership of Hitler, have not only been guilty of the most flagrant violation of the principle of brotherhood but they have openly repudiated the validity of this principle. The persecution of the Jewish race by the Germans and by those associated with them in the present conflict is not simply an instance of brutality caused by the excitement of war—it represents a deliberate policy based on the repudiation of any obligation to deal with the Jewish people as children of the one God, and therefore as men and women who should be treated as brothers. Such an attitude is a repudiation of one of the basic principles of the religion which lies behind our western civilization.

The Christian people of America, therefore, must join with our Jewish fellow citizens not only in protesting against this brutal and cruel persecution but also in using every means in our power for putting an end to it. Since it is obvious that protest and criticism will not of themselves induce the Germans and their allies to abandon this deliberate policy of persecution, we shall have to rely upon victory in the present war as the only ultimate means of saving the Jewish people of Europe from the brutal treatment which they are receiving and of restoring them to their proper place in human society.

Meanwhile we should be eager to do whatever is possible to alleviate their sufferings. Unfortunately under war conditions it is difficult to find ways of doing much either along the line of removing individuals from the area of persecution, or of giving succor to those who are compelled to remain in those areas.

At the present time the Federal Council of Churches is conferring with leaders among Jews in this country with a view to finding out what can be done, and with the purpose of giving the utmost cooperation possible in efforts to relieve these persecuted Jews in Europe.

The attitude of a large body of Christian people in this country in regard to this question was given formal expression in the following resolution, passed by the biennial meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, held recently in Cleveland, Ohio:

"The reports which are reaching us concerning the incredible cruelties toward the Jews in Nazi-occupied countries, particularly Poland, stir the Christian people of America to the deepest sympathy and indignation. It is impossible to avoid a conclusion that something like a policy of deliberate extermination of the Jews in Europe is being carried out. The violence and inhumanity which Nazi leaders have publicly avowed toward all Jews are apparently now coming to a climax in a virtual massacre. We are resolved to do our full part in establishing conditions in which such treatment of the Jews shall end.

"The feelings of the Jewish community throughout the world have recently been expressed in a period of mourning, fasting, and prayer. We associate ourselves with our Jewish fellow citizens in their hour of tragic sorrow, and unite our prayers with theirs.

"We confess our own ineffectiveness in combating the influences which beget anti-Semitism in our own country, and urge our constituencies to intensify their efforts in behalf of friendly relations with the Jews.

"We urge that all plans for reconstruction in Europe shall include measures designed to secure full justice for the Jews and a safe and respected place for them in western civilization. For those who, after the war, will have to emigrate from the war-ridden

lands of Europe, immigration opportunities should be created in this and other lands.

"We recommend that the officers of the Federal Council transmit this action to the Jewish leaders in person."

May I take this opportunity of appealing to the Christian people of America to join with the Federal Council of Churches and the leaders of the Jewish people, and I am sure I can say with confidence, the leaders of Christian churches not associated with the Federal Council, in the effort to give practical effect to this resolution. First of all it is urgently important to call the attention of the people of America to the terrible nature of the persecutions which Jews in Europe are suffering. If we people of America really believe in the brotherhood of man as we profess to do, we will not only be moved to indignation by the brutality of these persecutions but we will also be moved to demand that everything possible to bring it to an end shall be attempted at the earliest possible moment.

There is much discussion at the present time in regard to our war aims. Surely those who know about the persecution of the Jews in Europe will agree that one of our aims in this present struggle should be to secure for the Jewish people in Europe a safe and honorable place in the structure of human society. Nothing less than this would be consistent with our loyalty to the principle we profess to believe of a brotherhood of man based on our common belief in the fatherhood of God.

DR. HENRY A. ATKINSON, GENERAL SECRETARY,
CHURCH PEACE UNION

Those of us who remember the last war will recall the many atrocity stories that were told. The other day I turned up one of the books which had been written by an eminent English diplomat who had made a close study of the situation. He gave facts and well authenticated accounts in regard to the brutalities practised by the German Army. These stories were pretty bad. They were stories of cruelties practised by barbarians, but were mostly of individual mutilations and other acts such as the cutting off of hands of little children, breaking down doors and shooting defenseless old men and women just for the "sport" or to satisfy a blood lust. There were charges of even more serious nature. It is not pleasant reading even today, but the reaction to it on the part of many of our own people was either an expression of incredulity and attack upon the veracity of those who made the charges, or else a futile shrugging of shoulders on the part of the more tough-minded, who said, "Well this is war—what can you expect in time of war?" From Germany and the other nations associated with her in the war there came emphatic denials and bitter complaints that all these stories were a part of the propaganda aimed to discredit Germany and put her in a bad light before the rest of the world. There are people now who are still discussing those stories and are trying to parallel them with the stories that are coming from Germans as well as Allied sources in regard to what is happening at the present time.

The difference, however, is staggering. In 1914-18 the Germans denied everything. Today the Germans are glorifying crimes that are many, many times more atrocious and are honoring those murderers "who are liquidating the Jewish problem." This is not war. It is cold-blooded murder and it is official murder. It is murder of which Hitler and his gang boast, and behind their boasts there is a threat of worse yet to come.

No wonder the world is aroused. In this week's Time magazine is a picture of a statue erected in Berlin, in memory of the "Jew-baiter" Theodore Fritsch, and inscribed in German Gothic letters are the words, "Fun-

damentally the Jewish question is the conflict between the honorable and dishonorable." Cynically enough, this is true, for the conscience of the world knows that the statue of this butcher perpetuates in metal on a substantial granite base the dishonor of Germans and others everywhere who connive at the slaughter of the Jews now being continued.

We are not here tonight merely to call names, nor only to express our wrath—nor are we here primarily to mourn at the fate of the Jewish people and their suffering communities. We are here as free American citizens to pledge ourselves that we will continue the war until those who are responsible for this tragedy are destroyed, and that the empire of hate which they have tried to build in the heart of Europe (with out stations throughout the world) is liquidated.

This tragedy which threatens and saddens the very existence of the whole Jewish world should rest heavily upon the conscience of Christians everywhere. There is not a Jewish home in any land free from the sting and hurt of the suffering and slaughter that has already occurred and is occurring right now in Europe. The revelations that have been made recently of the bestial cruelty practiced upon the Jews by order of Hitler and his murdering mob make more clear than anything else the horror and real meaning of Nazi rule. The Archbishop of York recently characterized as "the greatest crime in history" the deliberate extermination of the Jews in Europe. It is conservatively estimated that 2,000,000 have been murdered, and for the remainder there seems to be no hope. There is ever present danger of wholesale death. The Nazis without mercy are killing defenseless men, women, and children and to quote again from the Archbishop's New Year message: "These people have committed no crime. Their only offense is that they belong to the race of which our Lord and His Apostles were members." Five million Jews in Europe are involved in this terrible tragedy. Hitler has used anti-Semitism as a motive and persecution of the individual Jew as the spearhead of his thrust against the liberties of free men everywhere. Under his brutal blows anti-Semitism has flared up in almost every land.

The Jewish problem is almost exclusively a Christian problem. It is only in those lands called Christian that anti-Semitism runs riot. Therefore, we in America must take our stand strongly and resolutely that this time we will continue not only in full cooperation with the peace-loving nations of the world in winning this war, but in building up a community of nations. We must commit our Nation to a world organization which will have as its basis the principles of the "four freedoms" written into the Atlantic Charter, and these principles must be expanded into a Bill of Rights for the world.

The political form of such a world organization is not of so much importance to mankind right now or hereafter as is the loyal and continued membership of the United States of America. Our Nation should be foremost in helping to perfect that organization, and perfection can only be achieved through the functioning and not the idealizing of the world community. Whatever plan is worked out by the United Nations and agreed to by the member states, including Great Britain, Russia, and China, should be accepted heartily by the United States. The moment we begin to pick flaws and try to find ways of avoiding our responsibilities we head toward disaster for ourselves and the rest of the world.

A huge task awaits us at the end of the war. There will be universal hunger. There will be sickness and death in every land, and the terrible specter of blood, revolution, and anarchy threatens. We must be prepared to do our part in helping to feed a hungry world, clothe a naked world, house a homeless world,

and help people in all lands to reconstruct their lives on a normal basis.

Not only are we interested in these material and immediate humanitarian efforts; what the world wants and what the world is demanding is security.

We want security against the kind of thing that has thrown us into this global conflict.

Let us not forget that those who thrust this war upon us use anti-Semitism as the basis of attack not only upon our way of life but upon all our freedoms of men and women everywhere. Just as Hitler used anti-Semitism as the opening wedge in his attack, so we must turn our attention to the means and methods by which anti-Semitism shall be forever wiped out, and its emergence at any point within any nation shall be a crime against the common good.

Therefore, I would like to suggest the following program for the consideration of our Nation and the nations of the world and all people:

1. Let us demand insistently that this slaughter of the Jews be stopped at once, and that those directly responsible for carrying out these decrees of death be marked down for punishment at the end of the war.

2. That the United States, England, and such other countries as have the facilities open their doors at once as places of sanctuary, especially for the orphans, children, the old, and the sick.

3. That the United Nations make the financial and other material losses sustained by the Jews expelled from Germany and other countries under Nazi rule one of the chief charges on their restitution and resettlement program.

4. That the refugee Jews be assured of their right to return at the end of the war to those countries of which they were formerly citizens, with the restoration of the privileges and rights of citizenship; and as an alternative that those who so elect be allowed to settle in the Jewish homeland of Palestine.

Finally, that the United Nations in drawing up the bill of rights for the world accept the particular responsibility of making its provisions for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness apply to the Jew in all lands, and that the nations jointly and severally guarantee to all Jewish communities freedom from fear, persecution, and deportation. Such a guaranty should and must be more than a matter of internal regulation. Now that the propagation of political anti-Semitism has been recognized as a danger to international security, such propagation of anti-Semitism must be treated as evidence of incitement to crime and as such punishable under international law.

DR. STEPHEN S. WISE, PRESIDENT OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

This meeting of tonight is first and last and above all an expression of the will of American Jews to stand with and for all that may be done by our country and the United Nations in order to break the power of murderous tyranny.

We American Jews have the right to feel that the heroic life and the gallant death of Staff Sgt. Meyer Levin are for us and for the whole American people a symbol of the spirit of American Jews, ready to risk and do and dare all that our country may be victorious and that liberty may live for us and for all men and nations.

It may bring some understanding of what has happened to the Jewish people in Hitler-conquered Europe, when you are told that more Jews have been slain in every brutal way in Hitler Europe within this year than will be the number of deaths in the English and the American Armies throughout this war. The number of Jews slain in one way

or another stands between two and three million. I pray God we shall have no such list of casualties in the course of the war.

The month of March begins today. Only 30 days remain and the month will be ended. It has been decreed by the Nazis that Jews shall be exterminated by the end of March in such lands as Czechoslovakia, perhaps even in Poland, where one-fifth of the Jews of earth dwelt before 1939. It is very late; too late to save many; not too late to save some.

We are met tonight, together with the great church and labor organizations, because of the common conviction that the time has arrived for a public and forthright demand addressed to the United Nations, including our own Government, for action now to save the Jews of Europe. It is the responsibility of every decently self-respecting Jew in America to let his voice be heard in support of the demand of Jews and Christians alike that the United Nations make real their promise to the end that those who may be rescued shall be rescued and that the murderers of the civilian peoples of Europe, including the Jews, be held to strictest accountability.

Knowing how Catholics and Protestants have stood out in all the Hitler-scourged lands of Europe on behalf of Jews when Jews and only Jews were Hitler victims, I dare to say that Christians worthy of the name understand that it is not the physical security of Christianity that is challenged but its moral and spiritual survival. A Christian world dare not permit millions of Jews to be slain without seeking to move heaven by prayer and earth in every human way to save the threatened Jews. Or shall it be that the one people of earth, left to extermination without organized, united, effective intervention, shall be the Jews? That would be as truly a Christian as a Jewish tragedy.

Is it not of the very essence of Americanism to beg the United Nations to stop Hitler now? To stop Hitler now is the hope and is become the supreme effort of our country and of the United Nations. Hitler's proposed extermination of the Jews of Europe and his success in murdering one-third or more of the Jewish people of Europe—these are added and most potent reasons for stopping Hitler now.

For 5 or 6 years, from 1933 to 1939, the democracies refused to stop Hitler, in part, alas, because only Jews were being exterminated. Hitler must be stopped and he will be stopped. He has been stopped in Russia by the armies of Stalin. He is being stopped in Tunisia by the armies of Eisenhower and Montgomery. He will be stopped everywhere. Stop him now, before he can execute his threat to exterminate the Jewish people. He would destroy us solely because we are the oldest of warriors for human freedom and the ideals for which the United Nations today stand. Stop him now, before he can visit his wrath over defeat upon and against the civilian populations of brave Poland, of heroic Czechoslovakia, of unconquerable Greece, of invincible Austria, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway. He would exterminate the Jews. Other evil men before him have been obsessed by the same evil dream of executing the Jewish people. Their evil dreams, from Pharaoh to Pobleonosteff, were in vain. We were not destroyed! We will not be destroyed! We cannot be destroyed, for we are an eternal people! Hitler can be destroyed! He will be destroyed! Stop him! Destroy him now!

There are three ways of stopping Hitler: (1) Defeat him! That is the complete way to stop him. (2) Open another, a second, a third, a fourth, front now, an indirect and withal rightful way of stopping him. (3) Take every human measure to rescue and save all whom he would destroy. This last is the American way and the United Nations way.

Certain things may be done and others may not be done. But some day the problem of peace will have to be taken up, after the unconditional surrender of the Axis Powers demanded by Roosevelt and Churchill. Cannot the United Nations make clear to Hitler and his adjutants at home, and his coadjutors in the Hitler-scourged territories not only that the doers of these awful crimes will, in the language of our President, be held to the strictest accountability, but that the continuance of these crimes now will constitute an unbridgeable barrier between the United Nations and the Axis nations of tomorrow?

What can be done? Children can and must be saved. Havens of refuge must be provided for those who are able to escape within the British Empire and the western world. The six neutral nations, including the Argentine, must be enabled to admit and safeguard whosoever knocks at their doors, the United Nations to bear the burden of such hospitality. Normal immigration regulations must for a time be waived or suspended by the United Nations. The doors of Palestine must be opened, despite all the White Papers in the world.

If we tonight are in earnest, and we are, the Jewish people, the great labor organizations here represented, and the strong church groups, which speak here tonight, may move our country and the United Nations to act now, in order that a halt may be called to the direst, the most damnable, crime of history.

SENATOR ROBERT F. WAGNER, OF NEW YORK

Throughout these trying times, thoughtful men and women have been looking ahead to the day when our armies come home victorious, and peace reigns triumphant over a brave new world. Under the leadership of President Roosevelt, principles have been laid down, and discussions are going forward to feed the hungry, to assure freedom of worship, free institutions, and economic security in every land on earth. For the conquered peoples of Europe and Asia, in the darkness of their suffering and sorrow, these plans offer at least a continuing hope of a better day to come. But for the small minority of helpless Jews in conquered Europe, Hitler is doing the planning. He is deciding their future, now, the Hitler way, by a ruthless campaign of unlimited murder. This minority is simply being wiped out—now.

The American people of every creed, race, and color, who have lived together in harmony and brotherhood, stand aghast at this horror overseas. Only a Nazi mind could conceive it; only Nazi beasts could carry it out. Since Hitler's armies began their march of conquest, 2,000,000 Jews in Europe have been killed by his orders, and the 5,000,000 that remain are being rapidly liquidated. At this moment, as I speak over this microphone, such mass murder is going on with incredible efficiency that leaves no doubt of the Nazi intention to carry the plan through to its bloody, terrible end.

This is the last act of the Nazi drama, an act of which Goebels has given us fair warning. The pattern is plain from reports received only yesterday from the great city of Kharkov, recaptured by the fighting armies of the Soviet Union. When the Nazis first entered the city, thousands of its leading citizens were hanged. During the Nazi occupation 70,000 Russian residents died of hunger, and 110,000 were sent to Germany for forced labor. The 14,000 Jewish residents were forced into a ghetto and slaughtered in cold blood.

The advance of Hitler's armies turned all Europe into a torture chamber; now as they retreat, they are turning it into a slaughterhouse. Picture if you can the mass murders that will ensue, of all nationalities and faiths,

when Hitler's defeated armies take the road back through western Russia, Poland, the Balkans, France, Norway, and the Low Countries. This is the Nazi master plan. Win or lose on the battlefield, they propose to wipe out all other peoples who cannot serve them as slaves. Win or lose, they plan to keep the master race the dominant factor on the Continent of Europe.

In the early days, Nazi outrages against the Jews diverted the minds of the German people from the chains of slavery being placed around their feet. Now this frenzied blood bath is devised to divert their minds from the doom of another 1918.

In contemplating this terrible tragedy, my mind goes back 10 years to another mass meeting, in this very hall, when I joined with speakers of every faith in an appeal to the Christian world and to the better element among the German people—an appeal to stop this persecution before it dragged the whole world down into bloodshed and despair. Those pleas broke in vain against the massive prison wall which the Nazis had built around the borders and the conscience of a once great land. Many well-meaning people urged us then to be silent. These outrages against Jews were a local problem, we were told—a matter of self-government within the Reich. America was supposed to be isolated from all that.

We know better now. We have learned the bitter truth that democracy and fascism cannot exist peacefully side by side in the same world. In recent weeks, President Roosevelt has said of the Axis forms of government: "Never again." The United Nations have pledged to find and punish all those responsible for the mass murders of innocent civilians. But the killing goes on at a quickening pace. The Nazis say, "Any discussion on this score is superfluous."

In the name of the sacred cause that binds the United Nations, in the name of every principle of Christianity, we must discuss it, and we must act now to rescue those who can still be rescued.

In this task, a loaf of bread or an immigration visa speaks louder than the most heartfelt expression of sympathy. This is no problem for the Jews alone; it is a United Nations problem, and it must be dealt with through the most vigorous action of a united conscience, working through an international rescue agency. We should bring food to those within reach, under careful supervision, as we have done to relieve suffering in Greece, Spain, and north Africa. We should seek the aid of the neutral countries and the unoccupied lands in the Balkans—where many stricken refugees can still find shelter. We should utilize the full capacity of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, without waiting until all the red tape is unwound, without clinging to all the artificial barriers and policies of a colonial era that is dead and past.

No appeal for mercy and succor has ever been made in vain to the American people. I am confident that they and their Government will do their full part in this work of humanity—as their small contribution now toward a happier future—as a token of their faith in the brotherhood of man and the eternal freedom of the human spirit.

HON. THOMAS E. DEWEY, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

I greatly regret that the pressure of State business and matters before the legislature, which is in session as I speak to you, makes it impossible for me to be with you tonight. The purpose of this meeting goes to the hearts of everyone in the United States and the United Nations. The problem at issue is without precedent; without even a parallel since time began. Not in the dark ages, not even in the history of barbaric peoples was there such selective savagery as the Nazis

are even now perpetrating in eastern Europe. Neither Huns nor Tartars nor Mongols of old were as methodically unspeakable as the minions of Adolf Hitler. Never heretofore has the complete extermination of an entire people been compassed deliberately, officially, systematically, wantonly. The Nazi Fuehrer not only admits what he is doing, but now he boasts of it. His leaders have put it on paper in pseudo scientific jargon as an explicit policy of state. One such, Werner Best, a mouthpiece for the Nazis. Speaking officially for Heinrich Himmler's Gestapo, he wrote a recent article in which he used these words: "Historical experience has shown that the destruction and elimination of a foreign nationality are not in the least contrary to the laws of life, provided that such destruction and elimination are complete." This is not the sadism of one isolated individual. There is no such thing as isolated opinion in Germany today. It is the official dogma of the Nazi that murder of a people is the law of life provided the whole of such a people be murdered. Such a blasphemous concept can only serve to speed the day when the wrath of the Lord God of Hosts will destroy its exponents. But during the process of their destruction it is our high duty to frustrate to the limit of our capacity the savage purpose of the murderers.

It is our duty and our will to do everything we can to protect American prisoners. Many prisoners of the United Nations are in enemy camps. To this end we are committed not only by human feeling but by military practice. By the same token we are justified in doing all we can to save those internal prisoners of slave nations—those whom the Nazis are wiping out. The Nazis exterminate them because they look upon them as enemies of the Nazi state. That makes them our allies. Every victim of Nazi hate is an American ally. Every life we save will speed the victory—will aid in the task of creating a free world after the war. Therefore, we have a right to call upon the United Nations for action—action now. We ask for the immediate pursuing of every negotiation possible by the foreign officers of the United Nations to prevent the continuance of the monstrous process of extermination of minorities. In our growing might, we, too, can carry out reprisals. But ours should be for acts in violation of the laws of humanity. As we speed ultimate victory, we too can bomb and punish. We can also bargain for freedom for many of the victims and provide places of refuge for them. And so, too, can we serve notice through the governments of the United Nations, that the people of the Axis Powers will pay now and later by every means at hand for every act of savagery, for every failure to permit the passage of their victims to a place of refuge. The one purpose of all of us in the United Nations today is victory. Without victory the ultimate objective toward which we dedicate ourselves tonight cannot be attained. We must, we shall, devote ourselves with ever greater vigor to the prosecution of the war to the end that we shall win that victory speedily. Each of us has his part to do in the forefront of battle, either in combat or in production in the battle of supplies and food. And for those in combat we shall preserve here at home the sacred freedoms for which we fight, as we seek to procure freedom for all, now and in the future. Nothing less would prove us worthy of the pledge we make tonight to our fellowmen overseas.

HON. FIORELLO H. LAGUARDIA, MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the auspices under which this meeting is held is proof absolute that we in America are united.

When I asked Dr. Wise this morning what is the theme of the meeting, he said, "Stop Hitler now."

I said, "Schlog zol ihm trefen."

Well, if I had not been busy in 1937 cleaning the streets of New York, if I had been Secretary of State, I would have stopped Hitler then.

It did not require a statesman or a great student of European politics to know that this brown-shirted fanatic was leading the world into war.

As Dr. Weizmann said, and perhaps it was more applicable then than it is today, if there had not been a hush-hush policy he would never have been permitted to make the preparations and get the headway which permitted him to conquer Europe as he did.

Oh, some people believe it was only the Jews that were involved, and today some of the nations closer to Germany than we are paying their terrible price for their mistake.

Now, I want to be frank. There is a way to stop Hitler. We are going to do it. But it is not going to be done by talk or speeches.

Hitler and his gang have invented a new method of scientific mass murder and we must use the same method.

This is war. This is no debating society. This is war! They are killing our people and we must kill their people.

No, my friends. The time of seeking to crystallize public opinion by logic with facts is past. The time of impressing Hitler and his gang by appeal, by oratory, is past.

I'll tell you how you can stop Hitler—by working hard, by producing more materials, by sending more tanks, more planes, more guns, by having fewer holidays.

Have no illusions about it. We will never stop him until you have a greater force than his. You can't appeal to the sentiments of a murderer. We must have no illusions about the task we have undertaken. At no time in the history of the world did any commander of the army have the resources that Hitler has today dominating all of Europe.

So, my friends, we will never stop him with reason or appeal. There's one thing I want to warn you about. The time will come when this Hitler will recognize the supremacy of force, just like a skilled chess player knows that he is about to be checkmated in 2 or 3 months. That's the time that we must guard against, because there may be some isolationists who will start to dish out the isol-hash and say, "Oh, let's sit at a peace conference and talk it over."

Insofar as I am concerned, if it takes from now until the Judgment Day, my country will never sit at a peace table with Adolf Hitler. The quicker he knows that, the better. Our great President—and he's got everything that Hitler and all his ancestors never had—and the head of the British Empire have declared that we will take nothing but an unconditional surrender.

Now, you and me and the rest of us common folks in this country—and there are a lot of them like us—we must back that. We must back it to the very limit and let the whole world know that the American people are standing by the President in that declaration.

Dr. Weizmann has described graphically and touchingly of the wholesale murders, of the planned mass executions.

Yes, we know that is true. There's nothing we can do to wipe that out. It has happened. However, that can serve us as an incentive, give us courage to march on and let us tell Hitler—and I apologize for using the name "Mr." for that swine—let's tell this swine, "we are not going to do to you what you have done to innocent women and children."

"We will give you a chance first. We will try you for the murder of just one of these children" and when we fight together we will do that as the king did when Haman built a gibbet for Mordecai.

"We will use the same thing as you did," and execute him for murder.

We will hang him higher than Haman. Nonetheless, the time is critical. The situation is dangerous. It requires the effort of every man and woman in this country. Let us not equivocate, let us not complain of trifling sacrifice. Let us give everything that is in us to provide the force to crush the greatest menace this world has ever seen and to insure to our children wherever they may be, to the children of the world, a future and a happy, peaceful world.

DR. GEORGE N. SHUSTER, PRESIDENT, HUNTER COLLEGE

We have come here tonight, it seems to me, not only to mourn for the fallen, but also, above all, to strengthen our own courage and determination with the example set for us by some of the bravest and most helpless of Adolf Hitler's victims. They have been led to slaughter, not because they are criminals, but because theirs has been the privilege of high purpose and ancient wisdom. They died having no weapons they could raise against the foe. But they will have their good share in the immortality of our triumph, because they performed the important task of unmasking the Nazi fully for what he is. His true face is mirrored in their blood.

It so happens that it has been my business to travel a great deal in the Old World. Many of the cities in which the Nazis have built their horrible ghettos and places of execution are well known to me. And, therefore, it seems to me a solemn obligation to give testimony. No; the Jewish men, women, and children against whom the tyrant of Braunau has waged unequal war are not people against whom any lawful charge has ever been made. Their crime is to have believed in the abiding dignity of human civilization. They have shown remarkable fortitude and an almost unbelievable faith. Some were, of course, wealthy once, but the vast majority of them were poor folk, rich only in the fidelity with which they kept a great tradition alive in their hearts.

During the comparatively distant days when Hitler invaded Austria and instigated the great Viennese pogrom of 1938, Christians marveled at the resolution with which some of these Jews faced prison and the darkness of the concentration camp. It was not seldom that other captives felt humble in the presence of men whom no constraint of their jailers could induce to disregard the slightest jot or tittle of the ancient law—men who during weeks and months ate only bread and water because taking such other food as was provided would have indicated surrender of their deepest convictions. Others we knew who clung through poverty and ignominy to the cultural tasks which they had set for themselves. Nothing could tear them away from the music and the art, the philosophy and science, the ethical or religious studies to which they had dedicated their lives. One illustrious scholar I particularly remember who during 5 years lived in seclusion, receiving no tidings from any other human being, and nevertheless strove despite Hitler to complete the book on which he had spent so many sacrificial seasons of his life. It is heartrending to think that now he, too, has probably been carted off to the slaughterhouse where Hitler's victims die in droves. For gentlewomen with illustrious names have been hurled off in the night with guardians of the Torah, scholars, and men of mercy.

But of the vast majority of these people we in America have virtually no knowledge. They dwell in the large cities of central Europe, of the Balkans and the Ukraine. The Sabbath stillness was the only treasure in their lives. And yet despite their desperate poverty, they kept a deep reverence for the mind and the spirit of man. Their children were reared to know the holiness of the

prophets. They shrank from no toil that they could do. And even in their shabby clothing and their distress, they were dark-eyed serious little boys and girls of whom one of my belief thinks reverentially tonight, because they were so like unto the little ones among whom Jesus went in Galilee 2,000 years ago.

In whatever opinion we may hold human history or the human race—and neither is now a pleasant spectacle—none with whom that history or that race claims the slightest kinship will for a moment doubt that the ruthless extermination of such a people as this is one of the major disasters of all time. The hand of Hitler has lain heavy on others, too. As I stand here tonight I know that the illustrious prelates who in these years of persecution have added so much to the fortitude of the Catholic Church in Germany, and the courageous pastors whose names are jewels in the crown of German Protestantism—Cardinal Faulhaber, Bishop Von Galen, Pastor Niemöller, to name a few—would if they could join with us in saying that here is a crime against which the whole world cries out in utter amazement and deep righteous anger.

Nothing that we can say here will of course change the bloody purposes which the demon of Berchtesgaden fosters in his mind. The clatter of the machine gun will end the screams of orphans wherever his henchmen are in command. There will, to be sure, be a day of liberation. Then all Europe will breathe at last once more in the sunlight. I am reminded of Chesterton's lines as I think of that victorious morning, which may the Lord God send us soon:

"The thronging of the thousands up who labor under sea

White for bliss, and blind for sun, and stunned for liberty."

In that victory and the delirious joy it will bring only those European Jews whom we can rescue now will share. How many can we save? I do not know the answer. But it seems to me self-evident that every Christian who remembers the value of age-old works of mercy will try as best he can to aid in the ransoming of these dire captives. Surely we all know that the coming peace will be a hollow achievement unless men and women survive to whom the basic values of our common civilization will be as dear as life itself.

My own contribution cannot be an important one, but perhaps it is possible for me to testify to the righteousness of those who have perished in this mass murder and to the value of those whom it may be possible to snatch from the grasp of the assassin. Let us declare once more that there is no reason whatever, not the slightest semblance of a reason, for this brutal tragedy. The Jew was no threat to Germany. Indeed, he enriched its commerce and science, its art and its spiritual aspiration. And what harm had ever come to Germans from the Jewish folk of the eastern countries? No, all of the guilt rests wholly on Adolf Hitler and his henchmen. They alone, and not any Treaty of Versailles or any burden that was ever imposed upon Germany must be adjudged responsible for a holocaust which baffles one's understanding.

Let us say to the Jewish soldiers and sailors who now do battle with the armed forces of free America that to them there has been given a special trust of glory and righteous pride. For upon them descends the benediction which was spoken in the dying prayer of the innocent just. Upon them rest all the hopes and aspirations, all the dreams of beauty and of virtue, which once stirred in the hearts of multitudinous little ones now asleep in horrible death forever. They will prove not unworthy of that trust.

MR. WILLIAM GREEN, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

It seems inconceivable, after centuries of developing civilization, that the world can be thrown into reverse gear and forced back to a time when the elementary right to life is denied to any law-abiding human being by government. The sacredness of human life has been recognized since the beginning of history and is proclaimed in the language of Holy Writ, which declares that God made man "in His own image." In our day we have been taught to believe that the primary purposes of government is to protect human life, to safeguard it and to punish those who would wantonly and wickedly destroy it.

Yet, as we meet here tonight we find all our concepts of civilization, of religion, and of government challenged and defiled by the hideous atrocities of Hitler. We behold the perpetration of mass murders throughout the Axis-dominated nations of Europe—the murder of hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children guilty of no wrong, but condemned to torture and death merely because they are Jews.

Can any crime be more ghastly or despicable? Can any action by our enemies stir us to greater wrath? Isn't it clear to us that the Hitler way of death threatens the American way of life with the same fate as he has meted out to the Jews?

We hear the suffering cry of the helpless victims of the world's most infamous madman as it reaches us from across the seas. Our hearts are filled with grief and we are moved by the deepest indignation. In Germany, in Austria, in Poland, in France, in the Balkans, and in every Nazi-controlled nation of Europe the same brutal routine has been repeated. The Jews have been starved, humiliated, persecuted, and systematically exterminated. Families have been broken up, whole populations have been uprooted from their home communities and transported to foreign wastes where they are left to die of hunger and disease. Murders are committed in the homes, villages, cities, and along the streets and highways of Europe. Concentration camps and ghettos are filled to overflowing with hopeless human beings who look forward only to death as release from insupportable anguish.

Only fragmentary parts of the whole terrible truth reach us. The tragic story of death and agony inflicted upon helpless Jews will only be fully known when our brave soldiers break open the sealed tomb which Hitler has created in continental Europe. As we view the situation from afar, our minds cannot fully comprehend the little we have learned. We cannot understand the type of mind that glories in hate, that derives savage pleasure from the sufferings of others, that is devoid of the instincts of mercy and justice which distinguish men from beasts.

That lack of understanding, my fellow Americans, has been the chief reason for our mistakes to date in dealing with Hitler and his followers. We have tried to reason with people who are deaf to logic. We have appealed for justice to people who do not know the meaning of the word. We thought we were talking to human beings when, in fact, we were addressing creatures who personified bestial hate.

Now, at last, we are speaking to the Nazis and the Fascists in the only language they understand—the language of force. Now, at last, we are exerting pressure upon the only human instinct they still possess—fear. Now, at last, we are employing the only weapon which they respect—total war.

The time for exhortation, for argument, and for negotiation is over. Hitler and his fellow criminals must be destroyed. We will accept nothing but unconditional surrender.

America and the other free nations of the world have arisen in their might. Regardless of the cost to ourselves and to those we love, we will bomb, we will invade, we will destroy, and we will fight until the gates of Berlin and Rome and Tokyo are crashed down by our armed forces and our enemies lie completely vanquished.

Every one of us wants peace. But we know now that there is no short cut to peace except through total victory. We know now that there is no hope of lasting peace and security for humanity until the last vestige of hateful Nazi-ism and fascism is wiped from the face of the earth.

And so, every one of us who loves freedom, who despises the evil works of Hitler, who believes in the law of God and the triumph of the right, must join hands in a united effort for that victory. Regardless of race, color, or religion, regardless of political persuasions, regardless of whether we are rich or poor, we must work, suffer, sacrifice, and pull together until this war is won. Under the inspirational leadership of our great Commander in Chief, President Roosevelt, we cannot fail.

On behalf of more than 6,000,000 workers who are enrolled in the American Federation of Labor, I assure you that America's soldiers of production will more than uphold their end of the war effort. Last year, despite numerous obstacles and handicaps, American labor succeeded in quadrupling our Nation's war production. Skeptics told us that the goals set for us by the President were impossible and fantastic. We refused to be dismayed. Our loyal men and women faced the facts, applied themselves to the task and through the utilization of all the skill and strength they possessed made the impossible and the fantastic come true.

This year the Government has doubled last year's quota. Again labor is rallying to its tremendous responsibilities with a vigorous and unconquerable spirit. I pledge you, fellow Americans, that before this year is out the workers of this Nation will exceed the new goals and deliver to the armed forces of the United Nations fighting Hitler abroad the greatest and the finest supply of the weapons of war the world has ever seen. I pledge you that the workers of our country, who hate Hitler and the things he stands for, will do everything within their power to win this war in the shortest possible time.

I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet and, therefore, I will not attempt to predict how long it will take to achieve victory. But the die is cast. We must win and we will win. Let us not mistake the fact that the road ahead is long and hard. The experiences of our soldiers and sailors in Africa and in the Pacific make that clear. The enemy is fighting stubbornly for every inch of ground and while we may feel, with some justification, that the tide of war has changed in our favor, it has not yet reached the proportions of a tidal wave. We still have a long way to go and we on the home front will be required to match in part the heroism and the sacrifices of our courageous boys in uniform on the battle fronts.

Meanwhile, time is running out for the helpless prisoners of Nazi-ism and fascism—the Jews and the hostages who are being slaughtered at an ever-increasing tempo by our desperate enemies. We must try to do everything possible to save them before it is too late.

First, it seems evident that the United Nations must serve notice—official notice—that every Nazi and Fascist crime against innocent civilians will be punished with uncompromising justice and with equal severity. President Roosevelt has made it clear that this is the position of our Government. I endorse without reservation the demand of the American Jewish Congress that the

United Nations set up at once an official commission to inquire into each enemy atrocity, place the blame where it belongs and record the names of the criminals for future and implacable action. Such action will have a profound and perhaps deterring effect. The brutal Nazi leaders will know that when they slaughter Jewish people, shoot hostages, and commit unspeakable crimes they will be branded as criminals and treated as such when the war is over.

Second, I officially join with the American Jewish Congress and all its friends in urging, appealing, and demanding that the open door be established in Palestine. Let it be the homeland for Jewish refugees for the duration at least. It is no longer a question of political considerations or territorial status. Instead it is a question of saving human life. There should no longer be any quibbling over technical interpretations of the Balfour Declaration. Instead, let the immigration barriers to Palestine be removed, the door of admission to tortured, distressed, maltreated human beings be thrown wide open. The exigencies of the situation call for quick action, immediate action, if Hitler's victims are to be saved.

Third, let us examine our own situation at home and ascertain if the quota restrictions will permit the entry of war refugees and if it is possible to secure exit privileges for these refugees from conquered countries. We should do all that lies within our power to be helpful along these lines.

These are immediate steps and vitally important. But we cannot rest there. We must also plan now for the future. We must prepare a constructive post-war program which can be placed in effect the moment the war ends.

The American Federation of Labor is giving earnest attention to this post-war program and it is determined that labor shall be fully represented at the peace conferences so that the will of the great masses of the people will not be ignored. I am not giving away any secrets when I inform you that foremost among American Federation of Labor's post-war objectives stands a plank calling for immediate relief and rehabilitation of the Jews and other oppressed minorities of Europe; full restoration to them of their economic and political rights, and a guarantee, backed by the power of the United Nations, that never again will they be denied the primary freedoms of thought, expression, and religion.

In a broad sense, even this is a temporary measure. No nation, no people on earth can ever again feel secure if our peacemakers permit a return to the kind of international anarchy which existed before this war—the kind of irresponsible isolationism which permitted Hitler to wade through blood to dictatorship, which permitted Mussolini to seize Ethiopia, which permitted Japan to invade helpless China, and which permitted justice to be trampled upon by tyrants anywhere. All that must go forever. The conscience of the free men and women of the world is aroused. We know that if we blind our eyes and stop our ears to human suffering, that suffering will be visited upon us a thousand-fold before our days are done. We know that the bloodshed and the sacrifices which this war has forced upon us will be in vain unless a new order of international brotherhood is established following victory—an order based upon peace and justice, an order humanized by universal application of the four freedoms, an order buttressed and protected by the vigilant might of the United Nations. That is the supreme goal of labor, the great hope of free people everywhere which gives us the inspiration and the invincible strength for victory.

MR. JAMES B. CARREY, SECRETARY-TREASURER OF THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The people of the civilized world, no matter what their belief, are aghast at the horrible record of the Nazis in the deliberate slaughter of the Jewish population of the lands they have conquered or invaded—including the Jews of the Axis nations themselves.

No parallel in history shows a more calculated policy of massacre than the policy of the Nazi rulers of Germany. Their aim, which they do not attempt even to conceal, is to wipe out entire generations and entire races of their victims.

Organized labor in America and in all lands has long recognized this outstanding fact of fascism—that it is the sworn enemy of all mankind, that its persecutions of one group or one minority do not end with that group. The slaughter of the Jews in occupied Europe is an atrocity that moves us all; it is also a warning of what the Nazi murderers have in store for every people that resists them or that stands in their way in any manner.

Our answer, as organized workers devoted to our country and to the freedom of all people, is given in the words of the president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Philip Murray, who said some months ago:

"In answer to this mass horror being inflicted on our brothers and sisters in Europe, we pledge in the name of humanity to redouble our work for the utter destruction of nazism and all its legions of death throughout the Axis.

"We renew our pledge of devotion to the cause of complete United Nations victory. We reaffirm our pledge of unity with the workers and the plain people of all nations, including the occupied nations, in the common struggle for freedom and for life itself."

The Fascist rage against mankind cannot be cured by our tears and regrets alone. It can only be cured by the complete military annihilation of the armed forces of nazism and fascism. For this reason, the Congress of Industrial Organizations stands pledged behind the historic statement of our aims made by President Roosevelt at Casablanca—the unconditional surrender of the enemies of the United Nations.

At the same time we reiterate the warning that has been pronounced against these monsters; the warning that they must face trial and punishment for their crimes. We reiterate our appeal to the people of the Axis countries to rise against their slave masters before it is too late and for the sake of their own future among nations.

While we mourn for the men and women and little children sent to death by the insane blood-lust of the Nazis, we extend our greetings and our solidarity to those heroic people who continue to resist under the most unimaginable difficulties—the guerilla heroes and heroines of the underground.

Mankind is a stubborn species; it prefers to die fighting against tyranny rather than to die accepting it. Even in Poland, the slaughterhouse of Europe, there are men and women who fight Hitler with arms in their hands far behind the lines. The same indomitable spirit motivates the people of China, Russia, of Yugoslavia, of every occupied and invaded land.

They fight Hitlerism with arms, under inconceivable difficulties. Here in America we fight Hitlerism with production, production achieved by the unity of all our people in one common struggle. Abroad, our soldiers are carrying the struggle to Hitler's armies. The United Nations are moving toward the great offensive that will forever wipe fascism from the face of the earth.

In honor to the martyred dead, in honor to the Jewish peoples of all the world, in honor to all of Hitler's victims—and for our own future—we pledge with all our strength that we shall not stop short of complete victory.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON POST-WAR POLICY—AMENDMENT AND REFERENCE OF SENATE RESOLUTION 102

MR. GEORGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senate Resolution 102, which was reported favorably from the Finance Committee on Monday, may be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, after adoption of an amendment simply setting out in blank the sum to be appropriated.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

MR. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

MR. GEORGE. I yield.

MR. LUCAS. Did I correctly understand the Senator to say that an amendment is attached to the resolution?

MR. GEORGE. An amendment simply providing that a sum not exceeding blank dollars shall be appropriated.

MR. LUCAS. Speaking only for myself, I should like to make an observation in connection with the resolution. Section 3 is rather broad in its language insofar as the employment of officers, experts, and employees is concerned. When the committee determines what amount is necessary to carry on the highly important work which the Senator from Illinois believes should be done, it may want to hear from the chairman of the committee or from the committee as a whole that is finally appointed by the Vice President.

MR. GEORGE. I think the chairman of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate is entirely correct. I had in mind that the resolution might be agreed to and that a subsequent separate resolution asking for an appropriation might be referred to the committee. However, I am advised by the Parliamentarian that the resolution as a whole should go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate; and I am asking that it be referred to that committee. The resolution does not call for any specific appropriation.

MR. LUCAS. I so understand.

MR. GEORGE. The amendment which has been proposed is not to modify the general broad powers granted in the resolution, but adds the words "not exceeding the sum of \$—."

MR. BARKLEY. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, let me say that I understand that under the rule some amount must be fixed when the resolution is reported by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, and that that will have to be done before the committee provided for in the resolution is appointed. It might be well to have the chairman of the Finance Committee and other Senators on the committee, or anyone else who has an opinion about the matter, appear before the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of

the Senate to suggest an appropriate amount to be provided in the resolution when it shall be reported from the committee.

Mr. GEORGE. I shall be very happy to do so.

Mr. BARKLEY. However, under the rule it is impossible to wait until the appointment of the committee provided for under the resolution, and then ask it to provide for the amount which may be needed.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I should like to state that it would seem to me to be urgent to have the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate arrive at a determination as to the amount necessary to be appropriated in order to carry on the work. I can appreciate that we can make any sort of appropriation—we can start with \$5,000, \$10,000, \$15,000, \$20,000, or \$25,000—and then as the work proceeds, and perhaps is found to require an additional appropriation, the committee could add to the amount appropriated. However, under the rule, if I correctly understand it—I may be wrong regarding the matter—in the first instance the limitation as to the amount to be appropriated is set by the committee which reports the bill, and then the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate can either increase or decrease the amount.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is correct. It is customary to have a resolution, as it comes from a legislative committee, fix an amount as a maximum. Then it goes to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, and as a rule that committee determines whether the amount suggested or a lesser amount should be appropriated.

Mr. LUCAS. Of course, I do not follow the Senator from Kentucky in his statement that a committee could not be appointed in the first instance by the Vice President, and thereafter meet and go over the resolution thoroughly. It would seem to me that the members of the committee should be the ones who in the first instance should make the determination as to the initial amount of money needed.

Mr. BARKLEY. Of course, as I understand the rule, a resolution cannot be agreed to until it has gone to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate and has been reported from that committee to the Senate with an amount suggested. It is customary for a committee reporting a resolution which subsequently must go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate to fix an amount. In the present case that has not been done, because no specific amount was requested. I have an idea that as the work proceeds, probably from time to time it will be necessary to add to the appropriation. In that sense, I should not see any objection to providing an amount in the amendment which will go to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate; but the resolution cannot be agreed to and the committee cannot be appointed until there has been a report from the Committee to Audit and Con-

trol the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, let me say to the distinguished majority leader and to the distinguished chairman of the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate that I should be pleased to appear before the committee with such data and such schedule as I have been able to devise, which I think would fairly well indicate the size of the appropriation which would be necessary. The resolution simply leaves the amount in blank; and I think that any appropriate amendment to the resolution may be made by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is true.

Mr. GEORGE. So I ask that the resolution be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment proposed will be agreed to, and the resolution as amended will be referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

PREVENTION OF SPECULATION IN LANDS OF COLUMBIA BASIN PROJECT

Mr. McCARRAN submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 839) to amend the act approved May 27, 1937 (ch. 269, 50 Stat. 208), by providing substitute and additional authority for the prevention of speculation in lands of the Columbia Basin project, and substitute and additional authority related to the settlement and development of the project, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows: That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate and agree to the same with amendments as follows:

On page 12 of the Senate engrossed amendment, in line 13, after the comma insert the word "and".

On the same page, in line 14, strike out "and providing for the general welfare."

On the same page, lines 17 to 21, strike out "to improve such lands, or other lands within the project under contract with the owners or organizations thereof as herein provided, by clearing, leveling, and preparing them for handling of irrigation water;"

On page 13 of such amendment, lines 13 to 17, strike out "Contracts for repayment of costs incurred by the United States in clearing, leveling, and preparing lands for the handling of irrigation water may, in the Secretary's discretion, be made with individual water users or any form of water users' organization satisfactory to him."

And the Senate agree to the same.

PAT McCARRAN,
DENNIS CHAVEZ,
CHAN GURNEY,
JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY,
Managers on the part of the Senate.

COMPTON I. WHITE,
J. W. ROBINSON,
JOHN R. MURDOCK,
DEWEY SHORT,
ROBERT F. ROCKWELL,
Managers on the part of the House.

The report was agreed to.

Mr. BONE subsequently said: Mr. President, today the Senate agreed to a conference report on House bill 839, which deals with a reclamation project in the State of Washington. It is desirable to authorize the Vice President to sign the bill during the recess or adjournment of the Senate. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the Vice President be authorized to sign the bill during the recess or adjournment of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LIAISON BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE—EDITORIAL FROM THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, on Saturday, February 27, there appeared in the New York Herald Tribune an editorial entitled "Congress Must Be Informed." In the concluding paragraph of the editorial the Tribune writer states:

A method for establishing such liaison was suggested by Senator MALONEY in the last session. It was lost in the shuffle, but before the meeting of the present Congress the Senator announced he would reintroduce his measure. This newspaper applauded his intention then; it still considers that a carefully selected committee, representing both Houses and both parties, maintaining close and candid relations with the administration, is an urgent necessity.

Mr. President, I should like to point out, for the benefit of the New York Herald Tribune, whose interest I greatly appreciate, that the Senator from Connecticut did reintroduce the resolution. It was resubmitted to the Senate on January 7. Since that time a subcommittee of the Committee on Military Affairs held a hearing on the resolution. The witnesses appearing before the hearing were the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] and myself. The hearings have been printed—and I am very hopeful that the Military Affairs Committee will further consider the resolution at an early date and thereafter give the Senate a chance to consider the proposal.

I ask that the editorial from the Herald Tribune be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Herald Tribune of February 27, 1943]

CONGRESS MUST BE INFORMED

Major George Fielding Eliot, in reiterating forcefully the necessity of consolidating the direction of the war through the institution of a war cabinet (a point which he, like this newspaper, has often urged before) makes much of the equal necessity of establishing closer liaison between Congress and the President. That any major improvement in the national administration must concern itself with both these objectives, and that such an improvement is imperatively demanded by the military situation, is becoming plainer with each passing day.

Congress has accepted the results of the last election—and correctly—as a mandate to take its rightful place in controlling American policy. But Congress, as a body, has now no policy of its own, and under war-time conditions, plus the close balance of parties and the fluid state of party discipline, it is not in a good position to create

one. Moreover, the ideal of war administration is certainly not an open and prolonged conflict between the President and the legislature; it is, rather, the harmonious co-operation of the two branches of government.

These conditions have been acknowledged, expressly or implicitly, by Republican leaders. Senator Taft, for example, warning that Congress might go too far in its revolt against New Deal policies, suggested that a policy committee be set up by Senate Republicans to plot the course of the opposition. Senator VANDENBERG, in a letter to Major Elliot, showed an even better appreciation of the difficulties faced by Congress at this juncture. He wrote:

"There can never be a full disclosure of executive plans and purposes to a 'town meeting' of 531 Senators and Representatives. Yet the lack of total information and total candor between these two constitutional partners constitutes an utterly dangerous gap in our democratic machinery."

Obviously, if Congress, or the Republicans in Congress, wish to formulate a policy that will be in the national interest at this time, the gap mentioned by Mr. VANDENBERG must be closed. Otherwise the opposition can only clash blindly with the Administration and parallel in the legislature the confusion apparent in the various executive agencies. Congress has many committees undertaking many investigations; often they overlap, almost always they take busy men away from important tasks. Congress is also taking action on many isolated segments of war activity without it, would seem, fitting them into any settled policy of over-all action. Both of these tendencies are inevitable unless Capital hill has some means of obtaining accurate information from the White House concerning all phases of the war.

A method for establishing such liaison was suggested by Senator MALONEY in the last session. It was lost in the shuffle, but before the meeting of the present Congress the Senator announced he would reintroduce his measure. This newspaper applauded his intention then; it still considers that a carefully selected committee, representing both Houses and both parties maintaining close and candid relations with the Administration, is an urgent necessity.

SMALL BUSINESS AND WAR PRODUCTION

Mr. MALONEY. Mr. President, a few days ago I received an interesting letter from Mr. Joseph L. Weiner, Director of the Office of Civilian Supply, of the War Production Board. In the letter Mr. Weiner, appreciating the very serious situation confronting the country's civilian supply problem, which, in my judgment, has suffered to the point of danger, told me that he would like to have my cooperation in arranging for civilian supply studies in certain of the seriously distressed areas of the State which I in part represent. Since the receipt of that letter the able Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY] has appointed a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Small Business, to make a study of the civilian supply situation. The subcommittee is composed of the able Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT], the able Senator from Nevada [Mr. SCRUGHAM], and myself.

In order that Senators may be to some extent informed of what the Office of Civilian Supply is attempting to do, I ask that there be printed at this point in the Record the letter which I received from Mr. Weiner, a copy of my reply to Mr. Weiner, and a copy of a letter which I addressed to the mayors of Hartford,

Waterbury, New Britain, and Bridgeport, Conn.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WAR PRODUCTION BOARD,

Washington, D. C., February 23, 1943.

Senator FRANCIS MALONEY,

Senate Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MALONEY: I have followed with great interest your efforts, both official and personal, on behalf of so-called small business. I write to acquaint you with an activity of the Office of Civilian Supply which I believe will be of interest to you.

An important function of the Office of Civilian Supply is to use its best efforts to assure and maintain an effective system of service trades in this country. Unless we make plans for such seemingly prosaic businesses as laundries, restaurants, shoe repair shops, plumbing and heating establishments, and the like to insure that they will be both adequate in number and in a position to effectively serve their communities, we will find that our war program will be adversely affected.

There is a serious problem arising in regard to these industries as the result of diversion of raw materials to war uses, the gradual exhaustion of inventories, and increasing manpower shortages. In many overcrowded industrial areas the problem is already acute.

This Office proposes to undertake to determine as definitely as possible, the minimum requirements of these trades for manpower, equipment, supplies, fuel, and other essentials of operation. We then propose to see that full consideration is given to these requirements when allocations are made among military and civilian needs as well as between competing civilian needs.

We are preparing to make such a survey in three or four of the important cities of Connecticut, which appear to us to have service trades hard hit by the demands of war production. It is our plan to have Washington representatives from the Office of Civilian Supply visit Bridgeport, Hartford, Waterbury, and New Britain. They will call meetings of the representatives of four or five service trades which at present appear most seriously endangered. Specifically this investigation will endeavor to determine requirements for laundries, restaurants, garages, shoe repair shops, and electric repair establishments. We have decided to conduct the above-mentioned investigation in the four cities listed since these cities have been designated by the War Manpower Commission as critical labor areas.

It would be most helpful to us if you would be willing to get in touch with those people most appropriately situated in the above-mentioned communities and advise them of our proposed survey to begin within the next 2 or 3 weeks. If you believe as we do that this effort would redound to the benefit of the merchants in those cities, as well as to the work of this Office, will you be good enough to let me know?

Thanking you in anticipation for your cooperation, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH L. WEINER,

Director, Office of Civilian Supply.

MARCH 2, 1943.

Mr. JOSEPH L. WEINER,

Director, Office of Civilian Supply,

Social Security Building,

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. WEINER: Your letter of February 23, advising me of your desire to make a survey of service trades in four of the important cities of Connecticut, touches on problems which I consider among the most vital unsolved questions before us.

It is of the utmost importance that we immediately reappraise our ability to produce necessary services and provisions for the civilian population. As the war continues the civilian population is more and more literally fighting on the home front. To continue this fight they must be provided, not luxuriously, but with the necessities of life.

The increased drains on our labor by the armed forces and by essential war production plants raises the question of the ability of the remaining labor force to supply the civilian population. It also raises another question to which I have given considerable attention in connection with the work of the Small Business Committee of the Senate. Mass liquidations of smaller business at this time would be disastrous to our country. Every effort must be made to continue the existence of the independent businessman. Should your proposed survey develop significant facts with reference to these problems, it will be a most worthy contribution.

I am, therefore, pleased to accede to your request that I inform the mayors of Bridgeport, Hartford, Waterbury, and New Britain, Conn., of your proposed survey in order to facilitate their cooperation with you, and to urge, although I am sure it is unnecessary, their complete cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

FRANCIS MALONEY.

P. S.—Enclosed herewith is a copy of a letter which I have sent to the mayors of Bridgeport, Hartford, New Britain, and Waterbury, Conn.

MARCH 2, 1943.

Hon. JASPER McLEVY,

Mayor, Bridgeport, Conn.

MY DEAR MAYOR: I have been asked to write to you about a problem which is becoming increasingly important with the progress of the war. It is the one to which I know you have given serious thought and earnest consideration, as it is a problem which must affect every person in your city.

With the draft taking more and more of our men, and war industry properly asserting a first claim on the remainder, it is apparent that an effort must be made to assure the maintenance of sufficient industry to supply the necessities of those who are fighting on the home front. Obviously we must have some clothing, some food, some laundries, and retain some mechanics; some of almost every trade and skill. Moreover, unless we are to feel the shock and suffer the misery of depression, we must preserve our small independent businesses.

Officials of the War Production Board have advised me that they desire to make a survey in your city of the service trades which have been hard hit by loss of personnel and lack of materials. They desire to call meetings of the representatives of four or five service trades, particularly the laundries, restaurants, garages, shoe-repair shops, and electric-repair establishments. Their purpose is to attempt to obtain sufficient information to enable them to work out a program which would achieve the objectives I have outlined.

I believe such a survey would be in line with what you and I have been trying to do for the people of Bridgeport. For this reason I am advising you of the plan so that you will be able to make arrangements to cooperate fully with the representatives of the War Production Board. These will be employees of the Division of Civilian Supply.

It is my understanding that representatives of the War Production Board will communicate with you within a few days.

Trusting that you will accept this communication in the spirit in which it is offered, an attempt to give what aid I can to the solution of a difficult problem, I am,

Sincerely yours,

FRANCIS MALONEY.

P. S.—Enclosed herewith is a copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. Joseph L. Weiner, director, Office of Civilian Supply. Also enclosed is a copy of my reply to Mr. Weiner's letter.

PRODUCTION OF RUBBER FROM ALCOHOL

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, a year ago the 6th of January there was allocated to the petroleum industry \$650,000,000 for the purpose of developing a synthetic-rubber program. Nothing was allocated to the alcohol process.

Since that time a subcommittee of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the Senate, aided by some governmental agencies which have cooperated very fully, has been trying to bring agricultural sources into the program. Yesterday there was announced by Rubber Director Jeffers the location of five new plants for the production of alcohol.

Today I received from the Carbide & Carbon Chemicals Corporation, over the signature of Harold E. Thompson, vice president, a letter from which I wish to read two excerpts. This company has a plant which is making butadiene from alcohol derived from grain sources at the city of Institute, W. Va., the first unit going into production last month. I read from the letter:

Shipments for the month of February amounted to twelve 11,500-gallon tank cars, holding an average weight of 57,000 pounds per tank car, the month's shipments amounting to 342 tons of specification grade butadiene.

Then there is this additional paragraph:

We now plan on placing the second 20,000 tons per year butadiene unit at Institute plant in operation during the week of March 7.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter be printed in the RECORD in full at this point in amplification of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CARBIDE & CARBON
CHEMICALS CORPORATION,
New York, N. Y., March 3, 1943.

Hon. GUY M. GILLETTE,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: In your letter of January 8, 1943, you requested us to advise you when our first 20,000 ton per year butadiene unit was placed in operation, and we are at this time pleased to give you a brief report on the starting of the first unit producing butadiene from alcohol in our plant at Institute, W. Va.

January 29 is the official date upon which operations were started, since at that time all of the utilities, such as power, steam, and water services, were in shape to supply one unit, and alcohol feed stock was fed to the beginning of the process on that date.

February 1. The adjustment of the instruments, controls, regulators, and other equipment had proceeded to a point where butadiene converters were placed in operation. From that time on the recovery, purification, and distillation systems, respectively, were started and the plant was brought into complete operation as rapidly as the various pieces of equipment could be adjusted and regulated.

February 19. The first tank car was filled with finished butadiene of 99.5 percent purity, meeting Rubber Reserve Company's speci-

fications in every respect. From that time on shipments have been made at the rate of from one to two cars a day.

March 1. Shipments for the month of February amounted to twelve 11,500 gallon tank cars, holding an average weight of 57,000 pounds per tank car, the month's shipments amounting to 342 tons of specification grade butadiene.

During the starting-up period we have had days in which the output of the plant was somewhat in excess of nominal rated capacity. On the basis of experience gained thus far, certain minor changes will be made in the plant during the next two weeks, after which tests will be run to determine the potential producing capacity of the unit.

We now plan on placing the second 20,000 ton per year butadiene unit at Institute Plant in operation during the week of March 7.

The alcohol used as feed stock was that supplied to us by Defense Supplies Corporation. It was received by tank car from most of the distillery centers, and so far as we know all of this alcohol was fermentation alcohol.

Respectfully yours,

CARBIDE & CARBON
CHEMICALS CORPORATION,
H. E. THOMPSON,
Vice President.

SILVER

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. President, recently there was a meeting at one of the great metal-mining camps in my State. The meeting was held in the change room of the miners, where they change as they come off shift. Those gathered there were addressed by two members of the R. A. F. and one of our Army pilots. The purpose of the meeting was to give the R. A. F. pilots and our own pilots a chance to inform the miners of that great metal-mining section of the importance of keeping a steady flow of strategic metals into our war plants.

As a result of the meeting I received a letter from one of the miners dated February 6, giving in his own eloquent language his idea of the importance of silver in the mining in my State of complex ores such as zinc, lead, and copper. In my opinion, the letter is very significant and important at this time. I call the attention of the Members of the Senate to it and ask that it be included at this point in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEBRUARY 6, 1943.

The Honorable AEE MURDOCK,
Senator, Utah.

COMPTON I. WHITE,
Representative, Idaho,
United States Congress.

SILVER

GENTLEMEN: To our western Congressman and to our eastern Congressman, I am moved to write this letter by the continued fight against silver and the Silver Purchasing Act, by our eastern friends whom I am led to believe do not understand what this metal has meant prior to the war and its meaning to all of us now that we are all at war with a common enemy.

Silver has again been attacked and called a slacker metal, traitor metal, subsidy to mine operators, and many other names that are intended to crucify its standing in our monetary system.

Just last week I was called into the change room of the miners to listen to two Royal Air Force pilots and one of our own pilots plead

for more production from our miners for our boys out front.

These boys revealed many frightful engagements and called for more lead, zinc, and copper from our miners and those connected with the mining industry. After their talk not much was said, but the determination written on the miners' faces was more than any writer can explain.

At this point, with no apology to the reader or listeners of this communication, the Silver Purchasing Act has taken its place in our western mines as a V metal legislation. The ore we so badly need was blocked out under the inspiration of the Silver Purchasing Act. These ores we need now, classed as critical defense metals, lead, zinc, and copper, carry with them our precious metals, silver and gold.

The content of lead, copper, and zinc in a ton of ore in the first stages of development in our mines invariably does not contain sufficient of all three combined metals classed as critical to warrant profitable operations to the companies or individuals, but with the price of silver and gold standardized for any specific period of time you create an incentive to prospect and develop your natural resources of your western country.

Therefore, silver, if used only in money, has done its duty to the mankind of these United States at these critical times, so, gentlemen, think, consider, and place silver as your V metal, as you read or listen to these few lines, tons of lead, copper, zinc are flowing steadily into the war efforts and the slacker metal so much referred to has made this possible.

To our esteemed Congressman from the East who is condemning silver, I respectfully say, study your silver metal in our complex ores and in our monetary system and now in our global war period, you will find a western man who supports silver, your friend, and a friend of your boys on our far-flung battle fronts.

Silver has done its duty to mankind, it has blocked out your lead, zinc, and copper in these Rocky Mountains, and those men who have dedicated themselves to mining are your friends, and tons upon tons of critical metals are moving forward to our boys.

To my esteemed friend, Senator MURDOCK, and to my friend COMPTON I. WHITE, of Idaho, I say, carry this message to both floors of our congressional body and I feel certain many of our esteemed eastern friends will listen to this message before they cast a death knell to a metal that was their friend before the war and now during this war.

I will close with sincerity and best wishes to all Americans.

TOM P. COSTAS,
Miner, Park City, Utah.

A DECADE OF ACHIEVEMENT

[Mr. BARKLEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement entitled "A Decade of Achievement," reviewing the 10 years of the Roosevelt administration in the matter of legislation and executive policies in domestic and foreign relations, which appears in the Appendix.]

WHY WE ARE FIGHTING—ADDRESS BY SENATOR ANDREWS

[Mr. BARKLEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a radio address entitled "Why We Are Fighting," delivered by Senator ANDREWS in Washington, D. C., February 18, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES—NOTE FROM SECRETARY OF STATE TO BRITISH GOVERNMENT

[Mr. CONNALLY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a note delivered on February 25, 1943, by the Secretary of State to the British Government, which appears in the Appendix.]

FUNCTION OF TAX DOLLARS IN A WAR ECONOMY—STATEMENT BY SENATOR VANDENBERG

[Mr. VANDENBERG asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a statement on the subject The Function of Tax Dollars in a War Economy, made by him Tuesday, March 2, 1943, and broadcast over the radio, which appears in the Appendix.]

OUR ARMED FORCES AND VICTORY—ADDRESS BY SENATOR REYNOLDS

[Mr. REYNOLDS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address entitled "Our Armed Forces and Victory," delivered by him at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City, at the annual banquet of the New York Board of Trade, which appears in the Appendix.]

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION—ADDRESS BY SENATOR RUSSELL

[Mr. HILL asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address on rural electrification delivered by Senator RUSSELL at the first annual convention of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, Inc., at St. Louis, Mo., January 19, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

INVESTIGATION OF MANPOWER BY SUBCOMMITTEE OF COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS—REPORT BY SENATOR GREEN

[Mr. GREEN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a report submitted by him on the investigation of manpower conducted by a subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations of the United States Senate, which appears in the Appendix.]

MAINTENANCE OF MERIT SYSTEM FOR EMPLOYEES OF TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

[Mr. HILL asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a letter addressed by him to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary with reference to maintaining a merit system for the employees of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which appears in the Appendix.]

TRADE AND COMMERCE WITH SPAIN—STATEMENT BY SENATOR HILL

[Mr. HILL asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a statement with reference to trade and commerce with Spain made by him on the March of Time program, on Thursday, March 4, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

WORK OF THE SELECTIVE SERVICE BOARDS—ADDRESS BY SENATOR WILEY

[Mr. WILEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address entitled "The Job of the Selective Service Boards," delivered by him on February 13, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

LINCOLN-DAY ADDRESS BY SENATOR BROOKS

[Mr. WILLIS asked obtained leave to have printed in the Record a newspaper article including excerpts from a Lincoln Day address delivered by Senator Brooks on February 12, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

COMMENDATION OF SENATOR BROOKS' SPEECH ON LINCOLN—EDITORIAL FROM KOKOMO (IND.) TRIBUNE

[Mr. WILLIS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an editorial entitled "Senator Brooks' Speech," published in the Kokomo (Ind.) Tribune of February 13, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

UNITY—ARTICLE BY SENATOR BARBOUR

[Mr. BARBOUR asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article written by him and published in the January 1943 issue of the Newsletter, relative to the necessity for unity of all races, creeds, and colors, which appears in the Appendix.]

GEORGE WASHINGTON DINNER ADDRESS BY HON. FRANK C. WALKER

[Mr. LUCAS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by Hon. Frank C. Walker, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, at the George Washington dinner held on February 26, 1943, at the Book-Cadillac Hotel, Detroit, Mich., which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDRESS BY MR. JUSTICE DOUGLAS TO THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

[Mr. MEAD asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a radio address delivered by Mr. Justice William O. Douglas, to a meeting of the American Jewish Congress at Madison Square Garden, New York City, March 1, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDRESS BY THE POLISH AMBASSADOR AT STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE MEETING, RUTLAND, VT.

[Mr. AUSTIN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered by Hon. Jan Ciechanowski, Polish Ambassador to the United States, at a meeting sponsored by the State Chamber of Commerce, Rutland, Vt., on February 22, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

ESSENTIAL REQUISITES FOR FOOD PRODUCTION—ADDRESS BY ALBERT S. GOSS

[Mr. AIKEN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a radio address on the essential requisites for food production, delivered by Mr. Albert S. Goss, master, the National Grange, on February 20, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION—ADDRESS BY HON. STEVE C. TATE

[Mr. RUSSELL asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an address delivered on January 19, 1943, by Steve C. Tate, president of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, at the annual convention at St. Louis, which appears in the Appendix.]

RATION AND DRAFT FORMS—LETTER FROM ALVIN HAAS

[Mr. LA FOLLETTE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a letter dated February 26, 1943, addressed to him by Mr. Alvin Haas, president, Yates-American Machine Co., regarding ration and draft forms, which appears in the Appendix.]

MARTIN ADOPTS NEW DEAL IDEA—ARTICLE FROM THE PHILADELPHIA RECORD

[Mr. GUFFEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article from the Philadelphia Record of March 5, 1943, entitled "Martin Adopts New Deal Idea. Plea for Post-War W. P. A. reveals trend," which appears in the Appendix.]

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES DIEBOLD, JR., BEFORE THE SENATE SMALL BUSINESS COMMITTEE

[Mr. MEAD asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record the testimony of Charles Diebold, Jr., president, Western Savings Bank, Buffalo, N. Y., before the Special Committee to Study Problems of Small Business, on February 24, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

WASTAGE OF LABOR—EDITORIAL FROM THE SIOUX FALLS DAILY ARGUS-LEADER

[Mr. GURNEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an editorial entitled "How Labor Is Wasted," from the Daily Argus-Leader, of Sioux Falls, S. Dak., under date of February 27, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

LETTER FROM MONTGOMERY WARD & CO. TO NATIONAL WAR LABOR BOARD

[Mr. HOLMAN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a letter addressed by Montgomery Ward & Co. to the National War Labor Board, Washington, D. C., under date of February 27, 1943, which appears in the Appendix.]

CONSERVATION OF GASOLINE AND RUBBER IN NEW ENGLAND

[Mr. BRIDGES asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record a statement by members of the taxicab industry of Boston and editorials from several Boston newspapers, indicating cooperation in the effort to conserve gasoline and rubber, which appear in the Appendix.]

JOHN B. HAWLEY, JR., OF MINNESOTA—EXCERPTS FROM ARTICLE IN SATURDAY EVENING POST

[Mr. BRIDGES asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record excerpts from an article published in the Saturday Evening Post of February 20, 1943, under the title "Minnesota's Blitz Producer," referring to John B. Hawley, Jr., of Minnesota, which appear in the Appendix.]

HANDICAPPED WORKERS—ARTICLE BY SAUL W. ABEL

[Mr. DAVIS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the Record an article entitled "Handicapped Man Entire Unit," by Saul W. Abel, published in the January 1943 issue of Manpower Review, which appears in the Appendix.]

PROPOSED CONSTRUCTION OF PIPE LINE FROM TEXAS TO INDIANA

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TUNNELL in the chair). The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution coming over from a previous day, which will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. A resolution (S. Res. 103) to investigate certain matters in connection with the proposed construction of an additional pipe line from Texas to Indiana, submitted by Mr. CLARK of Missouri (and other Senators) on February 15, 1943.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, by agreement that resolution is to go over without prejudice. I ask that it go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

That concludes the routine morning business.

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION OF CERTAIN DISABLED PERSONS

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 180, calendar number 48.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 180) to provide vocational rehabilitation education, training, and other services to persons disabled while members of the armed forces, or disabled in war industries or otherwise and to render such

persons fit for service in war industries, agriculture, or other useful civilian industry, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Education and Labor with an amendment to strike out all after the enacting clause and to insert:

Be it enacted, etc., That this act may be cited as the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1943.

PURPOSES

SEC. 2. The purposes of this act are—

(a) To make more effective and efficient the program of vocational rehabilitation of disabled individuals and their return to productive employment, by increasing Federal participation in grants to States for rehabilitation training and by making other vocational rehabilitation services available, through State plans and otherwise, at Federal expense;

(b) To insure rehabilitation training to disabled veterans and certain war-disabled civilians, by providing for their training at Federal expense during the present war and the period ending 6 years thereafter;

(c) To integrate rehabilitation training of disabled veterans during the present war and the period ending 6 years thereafter, their pension adjustment, and assistance in their placement in employment, with their physical restoration and other rehabilitation services under laws pertaining to veterans, by making determination of their entitlement to benefits under this act, authorization of such benefits, and supervision of training and placement of disabled veterans, the responsibility of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, and for this purpose, title I of this act, and the other provisions of this act insofar as they provide for discharging such responsibility with respect to such veterans of the present war during such period, shall be administered by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs;

(d) To avoid unnecessary expense and duplication of services, facilities, and personnel, by providing for cooperative utilization of all appropriate facilities and personnel.

TITLE I—VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF VETERANS DISABLED IN THE PRESENT WAR

SEC. 101. Section 1 of the act approved March 20, 1933, Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(f) Any person who served in the active military or naval service on or after December 7, 1941, and prior to the termination of hostilities in the present war shall be entitled to vocational training and other services, subject to the provisions and limitations of part VII, Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, and the provisions of title IV of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1943."

SEC. 102. Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof the following new part:

"PART VII

"1. Any person who served in the active military or naval service at any time after December 6, 1941, and prior to the termination of the present war as declared by Presidential proclamation or concurrent resolution of the Congress, who is honorably discharged therefrom, and who is disabled as a result of disease or injury, or aggravation of a preexisting disease or injury, incurred in line of duty in such service after September 16, 1940, and prior to 6 months after termination of the war as so declared, for which disability a pension is payable under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration, or would be but for receipt of retirement pay, and who is in need of vocational rehabilitation to overcome a material and permanent handicap due to such disability, in addition to medical and hospital treat-

ment and services, or pensions to which he may be entitled under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration, shall receive such other services, including training, as may be prescribed by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to fit him for and assist him in securing suitable employment, taking into consideration the degree of his disability: *Provided*, That no course of training in excess of a period of 4 years shall be prescribed nor shall any training or other services provided for under this part be afforded beyond 6 years after the termination of the present war as so declared.

"2. The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs shall have the power and duty to prescribe and provide suitable training and other services for persons entitled thereto under paragraph 1. While pursuing training prescribed hereunder, and for 60 days after completion of training, the veteran, if entitled to pension in an amount less than the amount payable in accordance with the compensation rates for total and temporary disability, provided by section 202, World War Veterans' Act (U. S. C., title 38, sec. 475), shall be paid increased pension which, when added to the amount of pension to which he is otherwise entitled, will aggregate an amount equal to such rates.

"3. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, to be available immediately and until expended, the sum of \$500,000 to be utilized by the Veterans' Administration under such rules and regulations as the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs may prescribe, as a revolving fund for the purpose of making advancements not exceeding \$100 in any case, to persons commencing or undertaking training under this part, such advancements to bear no interest and to be reimbursed in such installments as may be determined by the Administrator by proper deductions from any future payments of pension or retirement pay."

TITLE II—WAR-DISABLED CIVILIANS

SEC. 201. This title shall apply with respect to—

(a) Any civilian (except a person who is paid by the United States, or any department, agency, or instrumentality thereof, for services as a civilian defense worker) who served at any time after December 6, 1941, and prior to the termination of the present war as declared by Presidential proclamation or concurrent resolution of the Congress—

- (1) in the Aircraft Warning Service; or
- (2) as a member of the Civil Air Patrol; or
- (3) as a member, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Director of the Office of Civilian Defense, of the United States Citizens Defense Corps in the protective services engaged in civilian defense, as such protective services are established from time to time by regulation or order of such Director; or

(4) as a registered trainee taking training in accordance with regulations prescribed by such Director for such protective services, and

(b) Any civilian who served at any time after December 6, 1941, and prior to the termination of the present war as so declared as an officer or member of the crew of a vessel owned or chartered by the Maritime Commission, or the War Shipping Administration, or operated under charter from such Commission or Administration.

SEC. 202. If any civilian with respect to whom this title applies is disabled as a result of disease or injury, or aggravation of a preexisting disease or injury, incurred in line of duty in such service during such period, not due to his own misconduct, and is in need of vocational rehabilitation services not available to him under any other Federal law,

to overcome a handicap due to such disability, he may be certified by the Federal Security Administrator to the State agency administering a State plan for vocational rehabilitation approved under title III of this act as a "war disabled civilian" entitled to receive under such State plan such vocational rehabilitation as may be prescribed by the Federal Security Administrator to fit him for and assist him in securing suitable employment, taking into consideration the degree of his disability: *Provided*, That no course of training in excess of 4 years shall be prescribed under this title, nor shall any services prescribed under it be afforded beyond 6 years after the termination of the present war as so declared.

TITLE III—COOPERATIVE PLANS FOR VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

Effective with respect to the period beginning July 1, 1943, the act entitled "An act to provide for the promotion of vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or otherwise and their return to civil employment," approved June 2, 1920, as amended (U. S. C., title 29, ch. 4), is amended to read as follows:

"TITLE III—COOPERATIVE PLANS FOR VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

"AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS

"SEC. 301. Moneys made available for the purpose pursuant to this act shall be used for making payments to States (and Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia herein referred to as 'States') which have submitted, and had approved by the Federal Security Administrator (herein referred to as the 'Administrator'), State plans for vocational rehabilitation of disabled individuals.

"STATE PLANS

"SEC. 302. (a) A State plan for vocational rehabilitation must—

"(1) provide for rehabilitation training, and may also provide for any other vocational rehabilitation services;

"(2) designate the State board of vocational education (herein referred to as the State board) as the sole agency for the administration, supervision, and control of the State plan; except that where under the State's law the State blind commission or other agency which provides assistance or services to the adult blind is authorized to provide them any vocational rehabilitation service, the plan shall provide for administration by such State blind commission or other State agency of the part of the plan under which such service is provided the blind: *Provided further*, That in any State which by law has established a rehabilitation commission prior to the date of enactment of this act, with authority to provide rehabilitation services to disabled persons, the State board may delegate to such commission all or any part of the operation of the State plan, under a written agreement of cooperation approved by the Administrator;

"(3) provide that the State treasurer (or, if there be no State treasurer, the officer exercising similar functions for the State) be appointed as custodian of funds received under this act from the Federal Government and receive and provide for the proper custody of such funds;

"(4) show the plan, policies, and methods to be followed in carrying out the work under the State plan and in its administration and supervision;

"(5) provide that no rehabilitation service under the plan shall be available to an individual unless he meets the requirements of eligibility therefor established by the Administrator;

"(6) provide such methods of administration (including methods relating to the establishment and maintenance of personnel standards on a merit basis, except that the

Administrator shall exercise no authority with respect to the selection, tenure of office, and compensation of any individual employed in accordance with such methods) as are found by the Administrator to be necessary for the proper and efficient administration of the plan;

"(7) provide that the State board will make such reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Administrator may from time to time require, and comply with such provisions as he may from time to time find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports;

"(8) provide that no portion of any money paid to the State under this title shall be applied, directly or indirectly, to the purchase, preservation, erection, or repair of any building or buildings, or for the purchase or rental of any land for administrative purposes;

"(9) provide for compliance with such rules, regulations, and standards as the Administrator may from time to time establish;

"(10) provide that any rehabilitation service provided under the State plan shall be available under such rules and regulations as the Administrator shall prescribe, to any civil employee of the United States disabled while in the performance of his duty and to any individual certified to the State under section 202 as a war disabled civilian.

"(b) The Administrator shall approve any plan which he believes to be feasible and which fulfills the conditions specified in subsection (a) of this section, except that he shall not approve any plan which he finds contains such restrictions with respect to the expenditure of funds under such plan as would (1) substantially increase the costs of rehabilitation services under the State plan, or (2) seriously impair the effectiveness of the State plan in carrying out the purposes of this title.

"PAYMENTS TO STATES

"SEC. 303. (a) From the sums made available pursuant to section 301, the Secretary of the Treasury, from time to time upon certification by the Administrator, shall pay to each State which has an approved plan for vocational rehabilitation the amounts determined by the Administrator to be equal to—

"(1) the necessary cost (exclusive of administrative expenses) to such State under the plan of providing rehabilitation training during the period for which such payment is to be made to disabled individuals certified to the State through or by the Administrator or his designate as disabled veterans or as war-disabled civilians for such training;

"(2) two-thirds of the necessary cost (exclusive of administrative expenses) to such State under the plan of providing rehabilitation training during the period for which such payment is to be made to other individuals;

"(3) the necessary cost (exclusive of administrative expenses) to such State under the plan of providing rehabilitation services other than training during the period for which such payment is to be made;

"(4) the cost of the proper and efficient administration of the plan during the period for which such payment is to be made.

"(b) In the case of any State found by the Administrator to be financially unable to provide the funds to meet its share of the cost described in paragraph (2) of subsection (a), he may increase the share of Federal participation for such periods and under such conditions as he shall prescribe, in accordance with schedules of participation based on comparative State per capita incomes established in regulations promulgated by him: *Provided*, That the increased share of Federal participation under authority of this subsection shall not in any case

result in the payment by the Federal Government of more than 90 percent of the cost described in such paragraph (2), and no amounts shall be paid under authority of this subsection with respect to rehabilitation services rendered after the expiration of 6 months following the termination of the present war, as declared by Presidential proclamation or concurrent resolution of the Congress.

"(c) The method of computing and paying such amount shall be as follows:

"(1) The Administrator shall from time to time estimate the amount to be paid to each State under the provisions of this title, such estimate to be based on (A) a report filed by the State containing its estimate of the total sum to be expended for vocational rehabilitation during the period for which such estimate is made, and stating the amount appropriated or made available by the State and its political subdivisions for such expenditures in such period, (B) a report filed by the State containing its estimate for such period of the administrative expenses to be incurred by the State board in carrying out its functions under such State plan for vocational rehabilitation, (C) records showing the number of individuals in the State needing rehabilitation services, and (D) such other investigation as the Administrator may find necessary.

"(2) The Administrator shall then certify the amount so estimated by him for any period to the Secretary of the Treasury, reduced or increased, as the case may be, by (A) any sum by which he finds that his estimate for any prior period was greater or less than the amount which should have been paid to the State for such prior period and (B) any sum by which he finds that amounts paid to the State under the act of June 2, 1920, as amended and extended, with respect to operations prior to July 1, 1943, were greater or less than the amounts which should have been so paid, except that such increases or reductions shall not be made to the extent that such sums have been applied to make the amount certified for any prior period greater or less than the amount estimated by the Administrator for such prior period.

"(3) The Secretary of the Treasury shall, upon receiving such certification, pay, through the Division of Disbursement of the Treasury Department and prior to audit or settlement by the General Accounting Office, to the State, at the time or times fixed by the Administrator, the amounts so certified. The money so received by the State shall be paid out in accordance with the provisions of the State plan.

"OPERATION OF STATE PLANS

"SEC. 304. Whenever the Administrator, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to the State board, finds that in the administration of the plan there is—

"(1) a failure to comply substantially with any provision required by section 302 (a) to be included in the plan, or any restriction on expenditures imposed in conflict with section 302 (b), or

"(2) a failure to comply substantially with any regulation of the Administrator with respect to the rehabilitation training of disabled veterans or rehabilitation services for civilian war-disabled individuals certified for such training or services under such plan, or

"(3) a failure to afford reasonable cooperation with other Federal and State agencies providing rehabilitation or other benefits to disabled individuals,

the Administrator shall notify such State board of such finding, setting forth in detail the reasons therefor, and shall notify such board that further payments will not be made to the State under this title until he is satisfied that there will no longer be any such failure. Until he is so satisfied the Administrator shall make no further certification

to the Secretary of the Treasury with respect to such State under this title: *Provided*, That when the Administrator determines that such failure relates to only a part of the services under such plan, he shall make payment with respect to other services which he determines may be satisfactorily provided under the plan and shall notify such State board and make certification hereunder accordingly.

"IMPOSSIBILITY OF FULL COMPLIANCE BY STATE

"SEC. 305. If any State cannot fully comply with the conditions of this title on the date of enactment of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1943, and its legislature has not met in regular session after such date, and more than 60 days prior to June 30, 1943, such State may secure the benefits of this title, if it complies therewith to the extent possible, until 60 days after the legislature of such State first meets after such date of enactment."

CITATIONS

SEC. 306. Sections 301 through 305, inclusive, of the act of June 2, 1920, as amended by this title, may be respectively cited as sections 301 through 305 of this act.

SAVING PROVISION

SEC. 307. Notwithstanding the amendment made by the foregoing provisions of this title, the provisions of such act of June 2, 1920, as amended and extended prior to the date of enactment of this act, shall remain in effect with respect to the period ending June 30, 1943.

INCREASED GRANTS PRIOR TO JUNE 30, 1943

SEC. 308. Appropriations are hereby authorized, for the making of payments to the several States and Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, in addition to payments now authorized, of such sums as may be necessary to enable them to augment during the remainder of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, services under their vocational rehabilitation plans approved under the act of June 2, 1920, as amended and extended. Appropriations are also authorized in addition to sums now authorized under the act of February 23, 1929, as amended, to augment during the remainder of such fiscal year rehabilitation services in the District of Columbia. Authority is hereby given to the Administrator to modify or waive the requirements of expenditures of funds of the States and Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia in connection with expenditures from such additional sums.

PROVISION OF REHABILITATION SERVICES BY ADMINISTRATOR

SEC. 309. (a) Effective 90 days after the date of enactment of this act, whenever the Federal Security Administrator, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to the State board of vocational education of any State (including Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia), finds that any type of vocational rehabilitation service (except training) needed by disabled residents of a State, or by war-disabled civilians certified for rehabilitation services under its plan, is not otherwise adequately provided in such State, the Administrator may, to the extent that such service is not otherwise adequately provided and until he is satisfied that such service will be otherwise adequately provided, provide such service to disabled residents of such State, and to war-disabled civilians so certified, who are in need of and eligible for vocational rehabilitation. Physical restoration and repair, physical and occupational therapy, and hospitalization and medical care shall be provided by the Administrator under this section solely through contractual arrangements made by him with public and private agencies and private individuals. Nothing in this section shall be construed to authorize the Administrator to construct,

lease, or otherwise acquire or operate any hospital, clinic, or other medical facility, or to authorize any personnel employed or appointed by the Administrator under authority of this act to engage in rendering medical or hospital care or treatment to any individual.

(b) For the purposes of section 302 (a) (4) and for the purposes of this section, the Administrator, in establishing requirements of eligibility, shall provide that—

(1) no person shall be eligible for vocational rehabilitation until he has attained the age of 16 years;

(2) except in the case of individuals certifiable as war-disabled civilians under section 202, no physical restoration or repair, medical care, prosthetic or other devices or training allowance shall be provided an individual unless it has been determined that he needs financial assistance with respect thereto; and that in making such determination full consideration shall be given to the eligibility of the individual for benefits from pension, compensation, and insurance, and also to the probable earning capacity of the individual in the work for which he is being rehabilitated;

(3) no training allowance shall exceed the estimated cost of reasonable subsistence of the trainee during his training, including the cost of any books or other training material necessary for such training.

(c) The Federal Security Administrator is authorized, through appropriate public agencies, to assist in securing suitable employment for individuals for whom vocational rehabilitation is provided under this act.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

SEC. 310. (a) The Board of Education of the District of Columbia is hereby designated the Board of Vocational Education for purposes of this act.

(b) Such Board is hereby authorized to submit plans pursuant to sections 301 through 305, inclusive, of this title, to provide rehabilitation training in accordance with such plans through schools of the District of Columbia and other public and private agencies, out of funds made available to it under this act and from appropriations for the District of Columbia, and to exercise all functions necessary for such purpose. Such Board is also authorized to enter into agreements pursuant to this act and, pursuant to such agreements or to the extent that authority is delegated to it by the Federal Security Administrator, to administer other vocational rehabilitation services.

(c) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated from revenues of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, and for each fiscal year thereafter, a sum sufficient to enable the Board of Vocational Education to carry out the purposes of this section.

(d) The act entitled "An act to provide for the vocational rehabilitation of disabled residents of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved February 23, 1929, as amended, shall not be effective with respect to any period after June 30, 1943.

TITLE IV—ADMINISTRATION

SEC. 401. (a) In carrying out their respective duties under this act, including the amendments made by titles I and III hereof, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, and the Federal Security Administrator are each authorized—

(1) to utilize existing facilities of appropriate units of their respective agencies, and to enter into agreements and cooperative working arrangements with each other and with public agencies and private persons, agencies, and institutions, within the United States, its Territories and possessions, for services and use of facilities of such persons, agencies, and institutions and to compensate

them and such units for such services and use;

(2) to make or cause to be made by other agencies, including foreign agencies, studies, investigations, and reports with respect to abilities, aptitudes, and capacities of handicapped individuals, development of their potentialities, and their utilization in gainful and suitable employment.

(3) to call in consultants and to pay their traveling expenses, and to pay their other necessary expenses while away from their homes, or not to exceed \$10 per day in lieu thereof;

(4) to detail any of the personnel of their respective agencies to attend, for not more than 12 weeks in any one year, appropriate courses of instruction conducted by other public agencies and private agencies and organizations, which detail shall be part of the official duties of such employees;

(5) to provide personnel so detailed with necessary books and other material and pay their tuition, or reimburse them for expenditures therefor; and, in any case where such detail is away from an employee's official station he may, for purposes of subsistence and traveling expenses, be deemed on travel status;

(6) to enter into joint agreements respecting any of the above, including the mutual use of their designated respective personnel, and to provide in any contracts entered into for joint or several use of services thereunder.

(b) Experts and consultants, when deemed necessary in the discretion of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs or the Federal Security Administrator, respectively, may be employed without regard to the civil-service laws or the Classification Act of 1923, as amended. For the purposes of this title, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs and the Federal Security Administrator may accept uncompensated services upon such agreement as they may deem feasible.

(c) There shall be in the Federal Security Agency a Rehabilitation Service under the management of a Director of Rehabilitation appointed by the Federal Security Administrator. Under the supervision and direction of the Federal Security Administrator, such Director and Service shall administer functions vested in the Federal Security Administrator by this act, pursuant to appropriate delegation of authority by him, and also provide such services in connection with rehabilitation of disabled veterans as may be authorized by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs pursuant to agreement with the Federal Security Administrator.

(d) In providing rehabilitation training for disabled veterans entitled thereto under title I, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs shall, as far as practicable, utilize training provided under State plans approved pursuant to title III, where satisfactory training can be provided under such plans. For such purpose, disabled veterans to be trained under such plans shall be certified as such to the State board by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs or his designate, through the Federal Security Administrator or his designate, and the expense, on an actual cost basis, of the services rendered shall be reimbursed by the Veterans' Administration out of the appropriation applicable.

(e) Payment for use of facilities and services obtained pursuant to this act by the Federal Security Administrator from units of the Federal Security Agency or other Federal agencies shall be by check, either in advance or as reimbursement, for the actual or estimated cost of such facilities and services, and amounts so paid shall be credited, as determined by such Administrator, either to special working funds as provided in existing law or to the appropriation or appropriations against which charges are to be made or have been made in providing the facilities or services, and payment for services and facilities

of other agencies shall be made by check to the payee or payees specified by such agencies.

(f) The Federal Security Administrator and the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs are respectively authorized to promulgate such regulations, and to delegate to any officer or employee, or to any agency, of the United States or of any State, Territory, or possession of the United States, or of any political subdivision of any of them, such of their respective powers and duties, except the promulgation of regulations, as they find necessary or expedient in carrying out the purposes of this act.

TRAINING ALLOWANCES—LIMITATIONS

SEC. 402. Training allowances or increased pension shall be granted a trainee hereunder only during training, or authorized leaves of absence therefrom, and not to exceed 60 days after completion of training, and shall not be payable for any period he fails to pursue his training as required by regulations.

MISCONDUCT AND NONCOOPERATION OF TRAINEES

SEC. 403. The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs and the Federal Security Administrator shall each include in their regulations provisions designed to secure good conduct, regular attendance, and cooperation of trainees.

In case of misconduct or failure of attendance or cooperation of a trainee, his training allowance or increased pension may be reduced or discontinued, or his training and training allowance or increased pension discontinued, temporarily or permanently, in accordance with the applicable regulations, at the discretion of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs or the Federal Security Administrator, as the case may be.

ADJUSTING ALLOWANCES DURING ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

SEC. 404. When on-the-job training with an employer is provided a trainee receiving a training allowance or increased pension, such employer shall be required to report any maintenance provided, or remuneration in money or goods, given or promised the trainee by him, directly or indirectly. Equitable reduction shall be made in any training allowance or increased pension provided such trainee where any substantial amount of such maintenance or remuneration is received by the trainee. The form and manner of making reports under this section, and the reduction in training allowance or increased pension, shall be in accordance with appropriate regulations, which shall be prescribed by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, in the case of veterans receiving training prescribed under title I, and by the Federal Security Administrator in other cases.

SEC. 405. (a) Where any disabled veteran or any civilian certifiable as a war-disabled civilian suffers an injury, or an aggravation of any injury, as a result of the pursuit of a course of training prescribed for him pursuant to this act, and not the result of his own misconduct, and such injury or aggravation results in additional disability or death of such person, benefits as to such person, if such training was prescribed under section 102 of this act, shall be awarded in the manner and to the extent and subject to the limitations provided in section 31 of Public Law No. 141, Seventy-third Congress, March 28, 1934, as amended, or benefits as to such person, if such training was prescribed under title II of this act, shall be awarded in the manner and to the extent and subject to the limitations provided in the act of February 15, 1934 (48 Stat. 351), as amended: *Provided*, That where such injury or aggravation or death results in payment of benefits under State employees' compensation laws, or recovery from or settlement with or on behalf of the employer, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs or the Federal Security Administrator, as the case may be, is hereby authorized and directed, under regulations to be

prescribed by him, to reduce the benefits authorized by this section by such amount as will offset such other payment received on account of such injury, aggravation, or death.

(b) Where any person suffers an injury, or an aggravation of an injury, as a result of hospitalization or medical or surgical treatment provided him pursuant to section 309 of this act or prescribed for him under title II of this act, and not the result of his own misconduct, and such injury or aggravation results in additional disability or death of such person, benefits as to such person shall be awarded in the manner and to the extent and subject to the limitations provided in the act of February 15, 1934 (48 Stat. 351), as amended: *Provided*, That where such injury, aggravation, or death results in any recovery from or settlement with or on behalf of the person chargeable therewith, a reduction in benefits shall be made as provided in subsection (a) of this section.

SEC. 406. Annual reports shall be made to the Congress by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs and the Federal Security Administrator as to the administration of their respective functions under this act.

SEC. 407. There are hereby authorized to be included in the appropriations for the Veterans' Administration and the Federal Security Agency such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this act, and the appropriations "Salaries and expenses, medical and hospital, and compensation and pensions", Veterans' Administration, and the appropriations "Salaries and expenses, vocational rehabilitation," Federal Security Agency, for the fiscal year 1943 are hereby made available for administering the respective provisions of this act.

SEC. 408. In the selection of cases to be served, in the character of service to be provided, and in the general administration of this act, there shall be no discrimination for or against any individual eligible for the benefits of this act because of sex, race, creed, color, national origin, or membership or non-membership in an industrial, fraternal, or private organization of any kind.

SEC. 409. The amendments made by this act shall be deemed to be a part of this act; and the term "this act," when used in such amendments or elsewhere in this act, shall be deemed to include the provisions of such amendments and the other provisions of this act.

SEC. 410. For the purposes of this act, the terms "vocational rehabilitation" and "rehabilitation services" mean any services necessary to render a disabled individual fit to engage in a remunerative occupation, including physical restoration and repair, medical examination and care, prosthetic and other devices, physical and occupational therapy, training, allowances for support and maintenance during training, assistance in securing employment, and other appropriate services.

MR. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, the measure under consideration is the product of many months of study of a very important question, which has long constituted a problem, but which has become accentuated as a result of war, shortage of manpower, and the increase in industrial accidents due to the tremendous acceleration of our production program. The measure is presented to the Senate in the form of a substitute committee amendment. It seeks to deal with all phases of the rehabilitation problem.

Title I of the measure deals with the problem of vocational rehabilitation of the veterans of this war, World War No. 2, who have service-connected disabilities. There are controversies over other

titles of the bill, but I think it is fair to say that the chief controversy is over title I of the measure.

MR. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

MR. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

MR. CLARK of Missouri. I should like to suggest to the Senator that there is also very serious disagreement as to committee jurisdiction over title II, because there is in the Finance Committee a measure which has been referred to it by the Senate itself, reported from the Committee on Education and Labor, and then referred to the Finance Committee, dealing with the very subject of title II.

MR. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, there may be some controversy over title II, but I still think it is fair to say that the chief controversy is over title I of the measure.

MR. CLARK of Missouri. I agree with that statement.

MR. LA FOLLETTE. When I came to introduce the bill, Mr. President, I was confronted with a problem which is becoming of growing importance to the Senate. It is a problem of overlapping and conflicting committee jurisdiction. As all Senators know, the Senate has no rule covering reference of bills to committees, and it has always been the traditional policy of the Senate that bills should be referred to committees which because of their nature have had original jurisdiction of similar proposed legislation in the past.

However, in recent years, especially during the time when Hon. John Garner was Vice President, a rule was established by him that a Senator could have a bill referred to any committee to which he requested to have it referred, if the Senate did not object.

MR. President, in many ways I was an admirer of the former Vice President, but I think that rule was an error in judgment, because it has served only further to confuse the situation of committee jurisdiction. At some other time I hope to go into this problem at greater length because I think it is of vital importance in the future service of the Congress as an instrumentality of democracy. I merely touch upon it at this time in order to say that, desiring to introduce a bill dealing with the problem as a whole and constituting a comprehensive program to affect all phases of rehabilitation, I felt it necessary to treat one phase of the problem, namely, that concerning veterans of World War No. 2 who have service-connected disabilities.

I introduced a bill on the 13th of August 1942, and, without any consultation on my part with the Presiding Officer or with officials of the Senate, the bill was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. There was some justification for sending it there because that committee originally had jurisdiction of the questions involved, and through the years has had jurisdiction of all legislation touching upon the rehabilitation of civilians through the Federal-State-supported system which has been in existence since 1920.

I do not wish to quarrel over the question of jurisdiction. I merely make this statement in order that it may be clear

to the Senate that I have no desire to "submarine" the jurisdiction of the Finance Committee. I have had long service as a member of that committee. I regard my service upon that committee as a great honor conferred upon me by the Senate, and I would be the last to attempt in any way, for any hidden reason, to try to avert the jurisdiction of that committee.

Nevertheless, Mr. President, I think it is fair to say that much could be said in favor of an approach to this problem which takes into account all the aspects of vocational rehabilitation if it is to be supported by the Federal Government, whether it be rehabilitation of veterans with service-connected disabilities, the entire cost of which, of course, under any measure would be paid by the Federal Government, or whether it be rehabilitation of so-called war-disabled civilians who are maimed or suffer from disease as a result of their voluntary unpaid service in behalf of the community at war against the common enemy. I have reference to the Civil Air Patrol, the Aircraft Warning Service, the Civilian Defense Service, and the heroic men who are going down to the sea in ships for the War Shipping Administration or the Maritime Commission. I have been informed, Mr. President, that up to the present time, in proportion to the numbers involved, those men have suffered greater casualties than have the members of any of our armed services. That statement may have to be qualified after the conclusion of the operations in north Africa, but I believe that prior to the north African campaign the statement would be accurate. It seems to me that no one would question the desirability—nay, the obligation—of the people of the country providing rehabilitation services to those who have been incapacitated, or who have had their earning capacity for the support of their families crippled or destroyed as a result of voluntary service in the common defense of the Nation in war.

The reason for a combined program, Mr. President, is that, after all, the Federal Government has been paying at least 50 percent of the cost of all the vocational rehabilitation which has been undertaken in this country. Therefore, since the Federal Government has inaugurated and supported the Federal-State system of vocational rehabilitation for individuals, it seemed well to me, at least in considering the problem, to introduce a comprehensive measure.

MR. LODGE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

MR. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

MR. LODGE. I should like to propound a question to the able Senator from Wisconsin relating to section 303 (b) on page 37 of Senate bill 180. I believe this to be the appropriate time to ask the question. I shall read the language about which I desire to interrogate the Senator:

In the case of any State found by the Administrator to be financially unable to pro-

vide the funds to meet its share of the cost described in paragraph (2) of subsection (a), he may increase the share of Federal participation for such periods and under such conditions as he shall prescribe, in accordance with schedules of participation based on comparative State per capita incomes established in regulations promulgated by him.

I should like to ask the Senator whether there is language of this nature on the statute books at the present time.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, the answer to the question of the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts is that so far as the provision for increased financial aid over and above any stated amount of matching is concerned, there is no such provision. At the present time the matching basis is 50-50, that is, \$1 of Federal money for every dollar of State money. Under the terms of the bill reported from the Committee on Education and Labor it is proposed to make the matching \$2 of Federal money for each State dollar, with the provision that the amount available, exclusive of administrative expenses for rehabilitation training, may be increased in those States where the need for such increase is demonstrated.

I will say to the Senator from Massachusetts that such a provision has been incorporated for the reason that, considering this subject as a whole and in view of the general national manpower crisis, it was deemed advisable to provide that in States which might be unable, because of their financial condition, to meet their share of the cost, for the duration of the war there should be opportunity for the Federal Security Administrator to increase the amount available to the State up to 90 percent of the cost. That is the general limitation.

Let me state in justification of that provision that, as the Senator well knows, the war program has been spotty in its distribution.

Some States have had a tremendous economic stimulus as the result of industrial activity due to the war. Other States have, on the whole, suffered from an economic standpoint as a result of the war. The financial situation in some States has been particularly adversely affected because they have placed great reliance upon their gasoline taxes, for example, not only for the construction of roads and highways, but as a source of general revenue, not only for building and maintaining roads and highways, but also for their schools, retirement and interest funds for their bonds, and other matters. By reason of the Government rationing gasoline, a State which had placed great reliance upon revenues from the consumption of gasoline now finds itself in a worse financial position during the war than prior to the war.

Briefly, that is the justification for the provision to which I have referred.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, may I pursue the point a little further?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I am glad to yield.

Mr. LODGE. I believe the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin will re-

member that 3 or 4 years ago, when Director of Economic Stabilization Byrnes was a Member of the Senate, he sought to widen the field of distribution of benefits throughout the States. He proposed a system of allocating funds on a per capita income basis. The proposal created a great deal of controversy at the time, some of us contending that it would be fairer to allocate funds on a cost-of-living basis than on a per capita income basis. It developed at that time that certain States with larger populations, greater natural resources, and greater wealth in every way than other States, did not make to the Federal Government the same contribution that was being made by other States which, by the same standards, were much poorer. Some of us felt that the per capita income standard was not a dependable standard.

I do not desire to make a speech in the Senator's time, but I am leading up to a question. I observe that under the paragraph a great deal of discretion is to be left to the Administrator. He is to be the one to decide whether a State is financially able to participate. The matter is not to be decided by an impartial agency. He is to be the one to prescribe the conditions under which the share of Federal participation shall increase; and that would be a new departure. He is to be the one to decide how per capita income shall be determined. As I recall, in Senator Byrnes' scheme that question was to be determined by a detached statistical agency, which, as I recall, was the Bureau of Labor Statistics. But under this particular paragraph he is to be the one to determine it.

Can the Senator give me any idea how that would be done? Can he insert in the RECORD a statement showing how the various States would be graded in accordance with language of that kind?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Let me say very frankly to the Senator that I cannot do so. All States now receive 50 percent Federal money for that purpose. The bill would make available to all States two-thirds Federal money for the purpose; and, as the committee has reported the bill, we have provided that the power to take care of situations which have developed or which may develop as the war progresses, impairing the financial ability of States to participate in the program, shall be exercised only during the duration of the war or for 6 months thereafter.

Mr. LODGE. Let me ask a further question, and then I shall subside. Does not the Senator fear that in setting up such a system he is establishing for the matching of State and Federal payments a new philosophy which may be followed in all the other systems we now have for Federal-State participation?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. No, Mr. President; I am not concerned about that; or, if I am concerned about it, my feeling is that the desirability of getting under way work of this type outweighs any fear of consequences—certainly so, at least, as the committee has reported the measure. In other words, let me say to the

Senator from Massachusetts that now we are doing a great many things concerning the ultimate consequences of which I have grave apprehensions. There are potentially in the United States, according to the best information the committee was able to obtain, 2,000,000 persons, exclusive of the veterans who will come back from this war, who, if they were given rehabilitation and vocational training, could become useful in the war effort. In view of the stringent shortage of manpower and in view of information in our possession concerning the adverse effect of the war upon certain States, so far as I was personally concerned and so far as the majority of the committee was concerned, we were willing to make this provision.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes; I am glad to yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. TAFT. Is not the justification for the 90-percent provision, as to which I was willing to go along, perhaps the fact that the authority terminates with the end of the war, so that the measure is strictly a war one, not in any sense a precedent for peacetime?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I was trying to make that point. I thank the Senator for emphasizing it.

Mr. TAFT. That is the only ground on the basis of which I favored that particular section.

I should like to ask the Senator a further question. The increase from 50 percent to 66%, and the payment of 100 percent of the cost of administration, and 100 percent of the cost of providing rehabilitation services other than training, appear to be a permanent plan which would not terminate with the end of the war. It seems to me that does afford a precedent which certainly should be modified so far as the 100-percent idea is covered in those two sections.

In the substitute bill which I propose to offer I have provided that in that case the Federal participation shall be only 66% percent, although during the emergency I am willing to provide up to 90 percent Federal participation.

I desire to ask a further question. Does not the Senator feel that subsection (b) is intended to be availed of only in very rare cases in which a State is absolutely and completely financially unable to assist?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It is my understanding that it was the intent of the committee, as we discussed the matter—and I think I am entitled to place, for what it is worth, that interpretation on the record for the Senate—to take care of, as I have just stated to the Senator from Massachusetts, cases in which States are unable to carry on the program, and are adversely affected by the war, from a fiscal and financial standpoint.

Let me say that I do not wish to make any invidious references, if they might be so construed in particular States; but the Senator from Massachusetts, by making brief inquiry of some of his colleagues, will find that some of them are

very much worried about the effect of the war upon the financial structure of their States, and particularly in respect to curtailment of gasoline-tax revenue.

Mr. LODGE. No one is more worried about it than I am, let me say to the Senator.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. But on the other hand, I assume, without knowing intimately about it, that the State of Massachusetts has many other sources of revenue, whereas that is not so in the case of some of the other States which, under their financial and budgetary policies, have placed their main reliance upon revenue derived from gasoline sales.

Mr. LODGE. There is nothing to stop such States from tapping the same sources of tax revenue which are used by other States.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. But I doubt if they will obtain as much revenue from such sources as Massachusetts does.

Mr. LODGE. I think some of them can obtain more.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. Could the Federal Security Administrator force the program upon a State, whether it wanted it or not?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. No; he could not. There is nothing in the measure which would require any State to accept the program or to participate in it.

Mr. LUCAS. In other words, there is to be a mutual understanding between the State and the Federal Government before the program can become operative; is that correct?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Precisely; and let me say that today the program is operated on that basis. As a matter of fact, the original statute required the States by statutory enactment to accept the plan provided by the Federal statute. So the respective States had to take affirmative legislative action in order to have a part in the program.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a moment?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I am glad to yield.

Mr. TAFT. Answering the Senator from Illinois, the Senator said nothing could be done without the consent of the State. My interpretation of section 309 (a), on page 42, is that if a State did not act, the Federal Security Administrator could step in and set up Federal operation of such services. Whether he could also do it with respect to training, I am not certain, but certainly he could step in and undertake to make a direct Federal grant of 100 percent of Federal money to citizens within the State.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It is my interpretation that section 309 is the only section which authorizes the Federal Security Administrator to take any action, and that authorization is confined solely to physical rehabilitation and restoration of indigent persons who meet a means test. But as I understood the question of the Senator from Illinois, it was whether there is anything in the measure which would force a State to come in and participate with the Federal Government. There is no such provision in

the measure. As a matter of fact, in respect to making the States take legislative action, the bill does not go so far as the original law did.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. In making the inquiry in regard to the States'-rights proposition about which we hear so much in connection with all these arguments, my thought was this: In the event a State refused to cooperate, and the Federal Government had decided that in, let us say, the State of Arkansas there was a situation requiring aid or help, and the Arkansas Legislature or the authorities there decided they did not want to help, under the terms of the bill the Federal Government could do nothing which would force the people of Arkansas to accept such aid; is that correct?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. That is correct. As a matter of fact, the bill proposes an offer to the States to match every dollar contributed by the States with \$2 contributed by the Federal Government. Today every State participating on a 50-50 basis in the program has had to pass a legislative enactment authorizing its participation.

Mr. LUCAS. In other words, if a State said "No," the Federal Government would have no right to go into the State and set up its own independent training center for vocational rehabilitation; is that correct?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The Federal Government would have no right to undertake any vocational training. In my opinion, under no circumstances would the Administrator ever take advantage of section 309 to provide physical restoration and repair unless the State had a going program for vocational training; because it would be absurd to provide vocational rehabilitation affecting a person's physical restoration or repair and then not be in a position to provide him with any vocational training.

I desire to emphasize the necessity of considering the matter against the background of 23 years of experience under a joint Federal program for vocational education. This is not something new. If Senators will examine the original act, I think they will find that in the pending bill we have spelled out the provisions relating to the powers of the Administrator with regard to vocational training in more detail and more definitely than is done in the existing law. In other words, when this bill passes the States will know very much better the area, the limit, and the reach of the administrative power under S. 180 than they know now under the existing law which has been on the statute books for 23 years, and, so far as I know, no State has ever complained of an abuse of power on the part of the administrative agency.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I am glad to yield.

Mr. TAFT. I want to suggest that, far from knowing more, the States will know much less, because this bill gives the administrator the power to make any regulations as to the operation of a

State-Federal system of vocational training, and any failure to comply with any regulation of the Administrator subjects a State to the penalty of having its funds cut off.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. He now has that power, I will say to the Senator from Ohio, and he has had it since 1920.

Mr. TAFT. I do not believe the present law gives anything like the power proposed by the pending bill. Furthermore, the present law provides that if a State is dissatisfied with the Administrator's ruling, it may appeal to Congress, and Congress may determine whether it is right. The Senator has eliminated that provision in rewriting the law, so that the State is absolutely subject to the arbitrary discretion of the Federal Security Administrator.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. That provision of law has been eliminated, but in regard to the question of physical rehabilitation, the pending bill provides something which under existing law the States do not now have except as a matter of Federal largess—namely, the right of a hearing. The Federal Administrator may cut off the funds from the State of Ohio, and the State of Ohio could not get money distributed by the Federal Government until it came to the Congress and the Congress passed a law providing that it should have its share of the funds. The pending bill is comparable with the provisions of the Social Security Act.

I will say that the sanctions in the Social Security Act are, in my opinion, more drastic than they are in the pending measure, but every Senator knows that the Federal Government has been very reluctant to invoke those sanctions. So far as I know, since 1938 when we passed the Social Security Act, there have been only two instances of the funds of any State of the Union having been cut off under the Social Security Act.

All I am saying is that this bill is now being scrutinized, and, in my opinion, some persons are reading things into it that do not exist in it as if this were a new piece of legislation, in which we were proposing to give to the Federal Security Administrator more power than he now has under existing law.

When I come to the details of the measure, I shall go a little more fully into the question of physical restoration and repair. There we have given the Federal Security Administrator greater power than he now has, but, as a matter of fact, Mr. President, in my opinion, after months of study of this question, the greatest and quickest increment we can provide to the labor forces of this country for industrial and agricultural production and for rehabilitation must come as a result of the physical restoration, rehabilitation, and repair of indigent persons who cannot now obtain such service. This bill provides that a State may go into that field, and receive money from the Federal Government for doing so, and thus supplement its own program if it desires to do so, but, in order that we may provide some additional help to the States which may not have the facilities or may not desire to go into the work, we have provided that,

after 90 days, the Federal Security Administrator may take action.

The Congress of the United States has got to seize either one horn of the dilemma or the other in the manpower situation. It does not do us any good to shout ourselves hoarse here condemning what is happening in the manpower muddle and then turn around and use our legislative power to hamstring efforts to do something about manpower. I do not think the people of this country are going to be fooled about it very long. They are going to find out, after awhile, whether our actions conform with our words.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President—

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LUCAS. I merely wish to make an observation with respect to the arbitrary power that is lodged in the Federal administration under the present act. I am not familiar with the language of the pending bill, and that was the reason that prompted my inquiry with respect to the arbitrary power that might be lodged in the Federal Administrator. I do know, however, that under the present act they have plenty of arbitrary powers to cut off the funds under the Social Security Act which are provided for a State. That happened in Illinois when the Administrator cut off funds, in my opinion—and I am thoroughly familiar with the case—absolutely without justification, and we have literally had to get down on our hands and knees and beg the Social Security Administration before we could get money we were entitled to in that State under the matching arrangement. There could not be placed in the hands of the Federal Administrator in any kind of a bill which might be written in respect to that point much more arbitrary power than what the Social Security Administrator has at the present time.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Let me make a brief comment on the statement of the Senator from Illinois, and then I shall yield.

I want to say, Mr. President, that I do not question the sincerity, and, of course, I do not question the right, of any Senator to be against the Federal-State cooperative program. That is a question of major policy, and if one is opposed to that kind of an approach to any of our mutual programs of this kind then I honor the Senator who sincerely takes a position against it and fights it; but when the Federal Government puts up 50 percent of the money, it seems to me it is a perfectly illogical position to say that the Federal Government should put up such a sum or, as we are proposing to do in this bill, to put up two-thirds of the money, and then deny to the Government any check upon the question of whether the money is being spent jointly by the States properly and whether the administration of the fund is producing the general objectives which were in mind when the legislation was passed.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President—

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield first to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Taft].

Mr. TAFT. It seems to me, however, that the distinction is this: If Congress chooses to lay down certain conditions with which the State must comply, and the State fails to comply with the conditions, then, I say that Federal money should be withheld. That is the provision of the Social Security Act. There may be latitude in construction on the part of the Administrator as to whether the State has complied with Congressional restrictions, but the Senator in this bill has gone further and has provided that the State plan must specify that the State will abide by any regulation issued by the Administrator himself. It is expressly provided in this bill that the failure to comply with the regulation of the Administrator shall be cause for withholding the funds. I say the Senator has gone further in that respect than the original act or any provision of the Social Security Act went, and that it is fundamentally an incorrect method of dealing with the Federal and State participation plan.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I cannot agree with the Senator from Ohio. That power exists now under the act, but it has not been spelled out in as much detail in existing law as it is spelled out in the pending measure. Furthermore I may say that I think we should consider this matter against the background of 23 years' experience.

Mr. President, if we do not give the power to the Federal Security Administrator or whoever has the power under the law to force compliance with the rules and regulations which are issued, then, I say that we have tied the hands of the executive arm of the Federal Government, that we have made it impossible to secure an efficient or an honest administration of the Federal Government's funds.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. Has there been any charge that under the present system, with the existing powers, there has been any failure to cooperate on the part of the States? Why does the Senator add to those powers? That is what I cannot understand.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I contend that except so far as section 309 is concerned, as to the physical rehabilitation service, if I may so term it, there is no more power in this bill than there is in existing law, and, as a matter of fact, we have broken down the general, sweeping power given under existing law into certain specified categories, at least, of things in which the State shall cooperate so that the Administrator cannot be wholly unrestrained in pointing out to the States wherein they have failed to comply and cooperate.

Mr. TAFT. If the Senator will yield, I should like to call his attention to section 32 of title 29 of the United States Code, the original act, in which there are set out as conditions of a State plan five fairly definite requirements. Nothing is said about the compliance with rules and regulations, whereas, in the Senator's bill, one of the requirements of the State plan on page 35, paragraph

9, is that the State plan must "provide for compliance with such rules, regulations, and standards as the Administrator may from time to time establish." A revocation of the plan is provided for, and a failure to comply with the regulations is made a cause for withholding the money.

I cannot find that any such power is granted in the existing law. There is merely power given the Administrator to construe the law, and then power given to the States to appeal to Congress against his construction, if they see fit to do so.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I do not have the code before me, but I have the print of the act issued by the Office of Education, and section 4 provides:

That the Federal Board for Vocational Education shall have power to cooperate with State boards in carrying out the purposes and provisions of this act, and is hereby authorized to make and establish such rules and regulations as may be necessary or appropriate to carry into effect the provisions of this act in order to provide for the vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons and their placement in employment; and to cooperate, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act, with such public and private agencies as it may deem advisable.

Mr. TAFT. However, no requirement is contained that this regulation must be obeyed by the States, and no requirement is contained that the money may be withheld if the regulations are disobeyed. As I understand, this regulation was the customary kind of regulation, providing for carrying out the provisions of the act, whereas the pending bill would grant power to make any regulation which the Administrator thought was in line with the purposes of the act, and would give such regulation the force of congressional enactment for all purposes of dealing with funds under the pending bill.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It is my contention, Mr. President, that under the power given in the basic law the Administrator may, without giving any reason, withhold the money, and the only redress a State has is to come to Congress and have its Senators and Representatives introduce a bill, and go through the laborious process of having passed a bill providing that the States shall have money for this purpose.

Mr. President, the law is so interpreted now, and I contend that the necessary power exists, to be exercised without let or hindrance by the Federal Security Administrator.

I had not intended to enter upon a detailed discussion of the pending measure. I had intended rather to discuss it at the outset more in its broad general outlines. To return to my original theme, the purpose was to draw a comprehensive measure which would deal with all phases of the rehabilitation problems which were confronting the Federal Government, and to provide, insofar as possible, a system of Federal and State vocational and rehabilitation services which would be suitable for all types of persons who were handicapped as the result of birth injury or other accident.

In order that the system might be as economical as possible, the committee reported the pending measure with the idea that, so far as title I was concerned, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs should have complete administrative control over the physical and the educational rehabilitation of veterans with service-connected disability. We did provide that in giving the training provided, as distinguished from physical rehabilitation, if the Veterans' Administrator determined that the State-Federal system was adequate for that purpose, he should utilize it, and certify veterans to the State-Federal system for their vocational rehabilitation training as distinguished from physical rehabilitation, which, of course, would be undertaken for the veterans in their own veterans' hospitals, clinics, and other centers.

So far as concerns the so-called civilian disabled, those in the aircraft warning service, the civilian air control service, the maritime sea service, and the civilian defense corps, the bill as reported from the committee provided that the Federal Security Administrator could certify any person in those categories requiring vocational rehabilitation to a State-Federal system for vocational rehabilitation and for vocational training.

The veterans' organizations have taken violent exception to title I of the measure, not, as I understand, because of the phraseology in its present form, as reported from the committee. So far as I know, the language of the bill is satisfactory to them.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator's statement in general is correct, as to the effect of title I as at present introduced. That was not true so far as the bill introduced in the last Congress was concerned. However, it is only fair to say that all the veterans' organizations—

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. If the Senator will permit me, I prefer to make that statement myself, rather than have it appear that it was elicited from me. I was about to make a very frank statement about this matter.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator did make the statement just a moment ago that, so far as he knew, the veterans' organizations, and others interested in veterans' affairs, were just as well pleased with title I of Senate bill 180 as they were with Senate bill 786. That is not correct.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. All I said—and if the Senator will go to the record he will find that I am correct—was that as I understood it they did not take exception to the language or to the powers which were conferred upon the Administrator in title I.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. But they do much prefer the language of Senate bill 786.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. A line-by-line comparison will show that the language is very similar in most respects. The point is that they do take violent exception to the fact that a bill dealing with Veterans' Administration matters, any

portion of it, should have gone to the Committee on Education and Labor instead of to the Senate Committee on Finance. They have contended from the outset that they desired physically separate bills, with different bill numbers, and different public law numbers. They want two physically separate pieces of legislation. They take that position, if I understand their statement, because they fear that in the future some question of committee jurisdiction might arise as a result of the Committee on Education and Labor having reported Senate bill 180.

Very frankly, I think their apprehensions in that regard are unfounded. I think that, so far as legislation is concerned, it would be better legislation if it were passed as a comprehensive whole. I think that in the end in all probability, so far as the actual administration of the act is concerned, the veterans would be as well satisfied with it under title I of Senate bill 180 as they would under Senate bill 786, if it should pass.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. I should like to ask the Senator from Wisconsin at what time he became aware of the opposition of the veterans' organizations to Senate bill 180?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I became aware of the opposition of the Disabled American Veterans when we had the first measure under consideration last fall. Mr. Millard Rice appeared before the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor and, speaking for his organization, said he desired to have separate legislation. When it became apparent that the bills could not be acted upon at the last session because of the late date in the session at which any measure dealing with the subject passed the House, and because it was not possible to finish the consideration of the bill in the Committee on Education and Labor until so near the end of the session that it was obvious to all that no action could be taken at that time, I tried to secure some harmonious resolution of the situation by asking General Hines, the able and respected Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, to try to bring together all the persons who were interested in the proposed legislation, to see if some bill could not be worked out which would meet their objections.

However much progress may have been made in the direction of securing legislation in language which would satisfy them, the representatives of the veterans' organizations, so far as I know, continue to maintain that they desire two separate pieces of legislation, no matter how satisfactory title I of Senate bill 180 might be made in its terminology.

Mr. AIKEN. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. Let me ask whether representatives of other veterans' organizations appeared before the committee and registered opposition to the bill?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. No; no representatives of other veterans' organizations came before the Senate Committee

on Education and Labor, with the exception of the gentleman who represents the Regular veterans' organization. About the time, or after the time, we had concluded our hearings last fall before the Committee on Education and Labor, the House passed the so-called Rankin bill, which went to the Committee on Finance of the Senate, and was referred to the Subcommittee on Veterans' Legislation, and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] held some hearings, at which time representatives of other veterans' organizations appeared and voiced the same opinion that had been expressed by Mr. Rice before our committee, and if my recollection serves me correctly, Mr. Rice came to the Committee on Education and Labor on the same day, after he had been before the Subcommittee on Veterans' Legislation of the Committee on Finance.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Merely to refresh the Senator's recollection, as a matter of fact, while Senate bill 2714, introduced by the Senator from Wisconsin at the last session, was pending before the Committee on Education and Labor, the House bill having to do with the straight veterans' rehabilitation was pending before the Committee on Finance, and entirely without my knowledge, and I am sure entirely without the knowledge of the Senator from Wisconsin, who was the chairman of the subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, the two subcommittees handling the bills happened to have hearings on the same day. The Senator from Wisconsin was naturally not present at the meeting of the veterans' subcommittee of the Finance Committee, of which he was a very distinguished member, and, of course, I was not present at the other meeting, because I was not a member of the Committee on Education and Labor. The coincidence of the two hearings being had on the same day, entirely without any previous knowledge on the part of the Senator from Wisconsin or myself, is certainly an illustration of the fact that the Committee on Education and Labor was invading the jurisdiction which has been held by the Committee on Finance ever since the last World War.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. AIKEN. A short time ago the Senator from Wisconsin stated that only representatives of regular veterans' organizations appeared. The Senator meant the disabled veterans' organizations, did he not?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. No.

Mr. AIKEN. Did representatives of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and of the American Legion appear in opposition to the bill?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. They did not appear before our committee. They voiced their opposition to the bill before the Finance Committee.

Mr. AIKEN. That is what I wanted to have clear on the record, because I was a member of the Committee on Education

and Labor. Recently opposition has been registered with me by members of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars; but their opposition was not registered with me until after the bill had been considered. No representative of those organizations appeared in opposition to the bill, and it was favorably reported. Until a short time ago I had not received any communications from these organizations, and, so far as I knew, they had not registered opposition to it. I should like to have that appear clear on the record.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I think that is true. I refer to the statement of Jack Kyle, national educational director of the Regular Veterans Association.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. He is now the president of that organization.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes. That organization represents the veterans in the Regular Establishment of the United States Army. In using the word "Regular" I was using the title of their organization, and not a descriptive term. The Senator is correct. Mr. Rice was the only representative of veterans' organizations who appeared before the Committee on Education and Labor.

Mr. President, so far as I am concerned, I am simply trying to state what actually happened, and to state the fact that the veterans, so far as I know, have from the beginning taken the position that they wanted a physically separate piece of legislation.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Of course the Senator is familiar with the fact that the House Committee on Education yesterday, I believe, in reporting the Barden bill, which is identical, as I understand, to the text of the bill introduced by the Senator from Wisconsin, struck out title I from the bill and reported it without title I.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. That is correct.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. If the Senator were willing to do that he might be able to obviate a good deal of opposition to his bill.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I was about to come to that phase of the matter. I wanted the record to show that it is my firm conviction that it is a mistake to separate these matters. I feel that it would be better to have the legislation passed as a whole. I think in the end the systems might be more integrated without detriment to the veterans, because, I reemphasize, title I gives complete control to the Veterans' Administrator. I think it might result in some economies and savings in the total cost.

I may say that the cost of rehabilitating veterans of this war will be a staggering sum. We spent \$640,000,000 in rehabilitating veterans of the last war who had service-connected disabilities. The use of sulfa drugs and blood plasma results in a larger percentage of recoveries of persons who are wounded in this war, and a larger number of persons will no doubt ultimately be involved; so our program for veterans' rehabilitation will undoubtedly be very large.

Mr. President, in view of the action which has been taken by the committee at the other end of the Capitol, which has legislation of this character under consideration, I feel that I am justified in recognizing that even if the majority of the Senate should agree with my position and retain title I, in all probability the House committee which handles these matters would be in such a position that it would not have power to deal in conference with title I of the bill, in view of the action of the House and the division of the responsibility between the Veterans Committee and the Committee on Education in the House.

Therefore, Mr. President, I am going to offer as a substitute for the committee amendment, an amendment which retains titles II, III, and IV, as they were reported from the Committee on Education and Labor, but retains only one portion of title I. I trust that it will not meet with any objection. But in any case it will be open to amendment if it does. The substitute which I am now offering, I will say to the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK], proposes to retain only one portion of title I, and reads as follows:

In providing rehabilitation training for disabled veterans entitled thereto under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs shall, as far as practicable, utilize training provided under State plans for vocational rehabilitation, in cases in which in his judgment satisfactory training can be provided under such plans. In such cases the veterans to be trained under such plans shall be selected by the Veterans' Administration and the training to be provided shall be that prescribed by the Veterans' Administration, and the expense, on an actual cost basis, of the services rendered shall be reimbursed by the Veterans' Administration out of the appropriation applicable. The Administrator is authorized, pursuant to agreement with the Federal Security Administrator, to utilize the facilities and services of the Federal Security Agency in carrying out the provisions of this section.

Mr. President, my only purpose in desiring to retain that portion of title I, I may say to the Senator from Missouri and other Senators who may be interested, is that it seems to me it is highly desirable in the interests of economy, wherever the system is adequate, to prevent duplication, and to provide for the utmost utilization of such systems, where, in the judgment of the Veterans' Administrator, it can be done without any sacrifice of the character or the type of service to be rendered.

I may say that there is a provision in Senate bill 786 which gives power to the Veterans' Administrator to utilize existing agencies. The only difference is that this language states it as a legislative policy, but gives him full power. I may say, and I am at liberty to say, that this portion of the bill was worked out in conjunction with General Hines, and is satisfactory to him, although of course he takes no position as to whether it should be incorporated in one bill or the other.

Mr. President, I may say for the information of the Senate that titles II, III, and IV are exactly as reported from the Senate Committee on Education and

Labor, except that they eliminate the references in the other titles of the bill which were made necessary when title I was still a part of the measure.

Mr. President, I offer the amendment and ask unanimous consent that it be considered in lieu of the amendment of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The amendment will be stated for the information of the Senate.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I ask unanimous consent that the amendment may be considered as having been read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment offered by Mr. LA FOLLETTE is as follows:

That this act may be cited as the "Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1943."

PURPOSES

SEC. 2. The purposes of this act are—

(a) To make more effective and efficient the program of vocational rehabilitation of disabled individuals and their return to productive employment, by increasing Federal participation in grants to States for rehabilitation training and by making other vocational rehabilitation services available, through State plans and otherwise, at Federal expense;

(b) To insure rehabilitation training to certain war disabled civilians, by providing for their training at Federal expense during the present war and the period ending 6 years thereafter;

(c) To avoid unnecessary expense and duplication of services, facilities, and personnel, by providing for cooperative utilization of all appropriate facilities and personnel.

TITLE I—USE OF STATE PLANS FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF DISABLED VETERANS

SEC. 101. In providing rehabilitation training for disabled veterans entitled thereto under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs shall, as far as practicable, utilize training provided under State plans for vocational rehabilitation, in cases in which in his judgment satisfactory training can be provided under such plans. In such cases the veterans to be trained under such plans shall be selected by the Veterans' Administration and the training to be provided shall be that prescribed by the Veterans' Administration; and the expense, on an actual cost basis, of the services rendered shall be reimbursed by the Veterans' Administration out of the appropriation applicable. The Administrator is authorized, pursuant to agreement with the Federal Security Administrator, to utilize the facilities and services of the Federal Security Agency in carrying out the provisions of this section.

TITLE II—WAR-DISABLED CIVILIANS

SEC. 201. This title shall apply with respect to—

(a) Any civilian (except a person who is paid by the United States, or any department, agency, or instrumentality thereof, for services as a civilian defense worker) who served at any time after December 6, 1941, and prior to the termination of the present war as declared by Presidential proclamation or concurrent resolution of the Congress—

(1) in the Aircraft Warning Service; or
(2) as a member of the Civil Air Patrol; or
(3) as a member, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Director of the Office of Civilian Defense, of the United States Citizens' Defense Corps in the protective services engaged in civilian defense, as such protective services are established from time to time by regulation or order of such Director; or

(4) as a registered trainee taking training in accordance with regulations prescribed by such Director for such protective services; and

(b) Any civilian who served at any time after December 6, 1941, and prior to the termination of the present war as so declared as an officer or member of the crew of a vessel owned or chartered by the Maritime Commission, or the War Shipping Administration, or operated under charter from such Commission or Administration.

SEC. 202. If any civilian with respect to whom this title applies is disabled as a result of disease or injury, or aggravation of a pre-existing disease or injury, incurred in line of duty in such service during such period, not due to his own misconduct, and is in need of vocational rehabilitation services not available to him under any other Federal law, to overcome a handicap due to such disability, he may be certified by the Federal Security Administrator to the State agency administering a State plan for vocational rehabilitation approved under title III of this act, as a "war disabled civilian" entitled to receive under such State plan such vocational rehabilitation as may be prescribed by the Federal Security Administrator to fit him for and assist him in securing suitable employment, taking into consideration the degree of his disability: *Provided*, That no course of training in excess of 4 years shall be prescribed under this title, nor shall any services prescribed under it be afforded beyond 6 years after the termination of the present war as so declared.

TITLE III—COOPERATIVE PLANS FOR VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

Effective with respect to the period beginning July 1, 1943, the act entitled "An act to provide for the promotion of vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry or otherwise and their return to civil employment," approved June 2, 1920, as amended (U. S. C., title 29, ch. 4), is amended to read as follows:

"TITLE III—COOPERATIVE PLANS FOR VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

"AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS

"SEC. 301. Moneys made available for the purpose pursuant to this act shall be used for making payments to States (and Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia herein referred to as 'States') which have submitted, and had approved by the Federal Security Administrator (hereinafter in this act referred to as the 'Administrator'), State plans for vocational rehabilitation of disabled individuals.

"STATE PLANS

"SEC. 302. (a) A State plan for vocational rehabilitation must—

"(1) provide for rehabilitation training, and may also provide for any other vocational rehabilitation services;

"(2) designate the State board of vocational education (herein referred to as the State board) as the sole agency for the administration, supervision, and control of the State plan; except that where under the State's law the State blind commission or other agency which provides assistance or services to the adult blind is authorized to provide them any vocational rehabilitation service, the plan shall provide for administration by such State blind commission or other State agency of the part of the plan under which such service is provided the blind: *Provided further*, That in any State which by law has established a rehabilitation commission prior to the date of enactment of this act, with authority to provide rehabilitation services to disabled persons, the State board may delegate to such commission all or any part of the operation of the State plan, under a written agreement of cooperation approved by the Administrator;

"(3) provide that the State treasurer (or, if there be no State treasurer, the officer exercising similar functions for the State) be appointed as custodian of funds received under this act from the Federal Government and receive and provide for the proper custody of such funds;

"(4) show the plan, policies, and methods to be followed in carrying out the work under the State plan and in its administration and supervision;

"(5) provide that no rehabilitation service under the plan shall be available to an individual unless he meets the requirements of eligibility therefor established by the Administrator;

"(6) provide such methods of administration (including methods relating to the establishment and maintenance of personnel standards on a merit basis, except that the Administrator shall exercise no authority with respect to the selection, tenure of office, and compensation of any individual employed in accordance with such methods) as are found by the Administrator to be necessary for the proper and efficient administration of the plan;

"(7) provide that the State board will make such reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Administrator may from time to time require, and comply with such provisions as he may from time to time find necessary to assure the correctness and verification of such reports;

"(8) provide that no portion of any money paid to the State under this title shall be applied, directly or indirectly, to the purchase, preservation, erection, or repair of any building or buildings, or for the purchase or rental of any land for administrative purposes;

"(9) provide for compliance with such rules, regulations, and standards as the Administrator may from time to time establish;

"(10) provide that any rehabilitation service provided under the State plan shall be available under such rules and regulations as the Administrator shall prescribe, to any civil employee of the United States disabled while in the performance of his duty and to any individual certified to the State under section 202 as a war-disabled civilian.

"(b) The Administrator shall approve any plan which he believes to be feasible and which fulfills the conditions specified in subsection (a) of this section, except that he shall not approve any plan which he finds contains such restrictions with respect to the expenditure of funds under such plan as would (1) substantially increase the costs of rehabilitation services under the State plan, or (2) seriously impair the effectiveness of the State plan in carrying out the purposes of this title.

"PAYMENTS TO STATES

"SEC. 303. (a) From the sums made available pursuant to section 301, the Secretary of the Treasury, from time to time, upon certification by the Administrator, shall pay to each State which has an approved plan for vocational rehabilitation the amounts determined by the Administrator to be equal to—

"(1) the necessary cost (exclusive of administrative expenses) to such State under the plan of providing rehabilitation training during the period for which such payment is to be made to disabled individuals certified to the State by the Administrator as war-disabled civilians for such training;

"(2) two-thirds of the necessary cost (exclusive of administrative expenses) to such State under the plan of providing rehabilitation training during the period for which such payment is to be made to other individuals;

"(3) the necessary cost (exclusive of administrative expenses) to such State under the plan of providing rehabilitation services other than training during the period for which such payment is to be made;

"(4) the cost of the proper and efficient administration of the plan during the period for which such payment is to be made.

"(b) In the case of any State found by the Administrator to be financially unable to provide the funds to meet its share of the cost described in paragraph (2) of subsection (a), he may increase the share of Federal participation for such periods and under such conditions as he shall prescribe, in accordance with schedules of participation based on comparative State per capita incomes established in regulations promulgated by him: *Provided*, That the increased share of Federal participation under authority of this subsection shall not in any case result in the payment by the Federal Government of more than 90 percent of the cost described in such paragraph (2), and no amounts shall be paid under authority of this subsection with respect to rehabilitation services rendered after the expiration of 6 months following the termination of the present war, as declared by Presidential proclamation or concurrent resolution of the Congress.

"(c) The method of computing and paying such amount shall be as follows:

"(1) The Administrator shall from time to time estimate the amount to be paid to each State under the provisions of this title, such estimate to be based on (A) a report filed by the State containing its estimate of the total sum to be expended for vocational rehabilitation during the period for which such estimate is made, and stating the amount appropriated or made available by the State and its political subdivisions for such expenditures in such period, (B) a report filed by the State containing its estimate for such period of the administrative expenses to be incurred by the State board in carrying out its functions under such State plan for vocational rehabilitation, (C) records showing the number of individuals in the State needing rehabilitation services, and (D) such other investigation as the Administrator may find necessary.

"(2) The Administrator shall then certify the amount so estimated by him for any period to the Secretary of the Treasury, reduced or increased, as the case may be, by (A) any sum by which he finds that his estimate for any prior period was greater or less than the amount which should have been paid to the State for such prior period and (B) any sum by which he finds that amounts paid to the State under the Act of June 2, 1920, as amended and extended with respect to operations prior to July 1, 1943, were greater or less than the amounts which should have been so paid, except that such increases or reductions shall not be made to the extent that such sums have been applied to make the amount certified for any prior period greater or less than the amount estimated by the Administrator for such prior period.

"(3) The Secretary of the Treasury shall, upon receiving such certification, pay, through the Division of Disbursement of the Treasury Department and prior to audit or settlement by the General Accounting Office, to the State, at the time or times fixed by the Administrator, the amounts so certified. The money so received by the State shall be paid out in accordance with the provisions of the State plan.

"OPERATION OF STATE PLANS

"SEC. 304. Whenever the Administrator, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to the State board, finds that in the administration of the plan there is—

"(1) a failure to comply substantially with any provision required by section 302 (a) to be included in the plan, or any restriction on expenditures imposed in conflict with section 302 (b), or

"(2) a failure to comply substantially with any regulation of the Administrator with respect to rehabilitation services for civilian

war-disabled individuals certified for such services under such plan, or

"(3) a failure to afford reasonable cooperation with other Federal and State agencies providing rehabilitation or other benefits to disabled individuals,

the Administrator shall notify such State board of such finding, setting forth in detail the reasons therefor, and shall notify such board that further payments will not be made to the State under this title until he is satisfied that there will no longer be any such failure. Until he is so satisfied the Administrator shall make no further certification to the Secretary of the Treasury with respect to such State under this title: *Provided*, That when the Administrator determines that such failure relates to only a part of the services under such plan, he shall make payment with respect to other services which he determines may be satisfactorily provided under the plan and shall notify such State board and make certification hereunder accordingly.

"IMPOSSIBILITY OF FULL COMPLIANCE BY STATE"

"SEC. 305. If any State cannot fully comply with the conditions of this title on the date of enactment of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1943, and its legislature has not met in regular session after such date, and more than 60 days prior to June 30, 1943, such State may secure the benefits of this title, if it complies therewith to the extent possible, until 60 days after the legislature of such State first meets after such date of enactment."

CITATIONS

SEC. 306. Sections 301 through 305, inclusive, of the act of June 2, 1920, as amended by this title, may be respectively cited as sections 301 through 305 of this act.

SAVING PROVISION

SEC. 307. Notwithstanding the amendment made by the foregoing provisions of this title, the provisions of such act of June 2, 1920, as amended and extended prior to the date of enactment of this act, shall remain in effect with respect to the period ending June 30, 1943.

INCREASED GRANTS PRIOR TO JUNE 30, 1943

SEC. 308. Appropriations are hereby authorized, for the making of payments to the several States and Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico, in addition to payments now authorized, of such sums as may be necessary to enable them to augment during the remainder of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, services under their vocational rehabilitation plans approved under the act of June 2, 1920, as amended and extended. Appropriations are also authorized in addition to sums now authorized under the act of February 23, 1929, as amended, to augment during the remainder of such fiscal year rehabilitation services in the District of Columbia. Authority is hereby given to the Administrator to modify or waive the requirements of expenditures of funds of the States and Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia in connection with expenditures from such additional sums.

PROVISION OF REHABILITATION SERVICES BY ADMINISTRATOR

SEC. 309. (a) Effective 90 days after the date of enactment of this act, whenever the Administrator, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to the State board of vocational education of any State (including Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia), finds that any type of vocational rehabilitation service (except training) needed by disabled residents of a State, or by war-disabled civilians certified for rehabilitation services under its plan, is not otherwise adequately provided in such State, the Administrator may, to the extent that such service is not otherwise adequately provided and until he is satisfied that such service will be otherwise adequately pro-

vided, provide such service to disabled residents of such State, and to war-disabled civilians so certified, who are in need of and eligible for vocational rehabilitation. Physical restoration and repair, physical and occupational therapy, and hospitalization and medical care shall be provided by the Administrator under this section solely through contractual arrangements made by him with public and private agencies and private individuals. Nothing in this section shall be construed to authorize the Administrator to construct, lease, or otherwise acquire or operate any hospital, clinic, or other medical facility, or to authorize any personnel employed or appointed by the Administrator under authority of this act to engage in rendering medical or hospital care or treatment to any individual.

(b) For the purposes of section 302 (a) (5) and for the purposes of this section, the Administrator, in establishing requirements of eligibility, shall provide that—

(1) no person shall be eligible for vocational rehabilitation until he has attained the age of 16 years;

(2) except in the case of individuals certifiable as war-disabled civilians under section 202, no physical restoration or repair, medical care, prosthetic or other devices or training allowance shall be provided an individual unless it has been determined that he needs financial assistance with respect thereto; and that in making such determination full consideration shall be given to the eligibility of the individual for benefits from pension, compensation, and insurance and also to the probable earning capacity of the individual in the work for which he is being rehabilitated;

(3) no training allowance shall exceed the estimated cost of reasonable subsistence of the trainee during his training, including the cost of any books or other training material necessary for such training.

(c) The Administrator is authorized, through appropriate public agencies, to assist in securing suitable employment for individuals for whom vocational rehabilitation is provided under this act.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

SEC. 310. (a) The Board of Education of the District of Columbia is hereby designated the Board of Vocational Education for purposes of this act.

(b) Such Board is hereby authorized to submit plans pursuant to sections 301 through 305, inclusive, of this title, to provide rehabilitation training in accordance with such plans through schools of the District of Columbia and other public and private agencies, out of funds made available to it under this act and from appropriations for the District of Columbia, and to exercise all functions necessary for such purpose. Such Board is also authorized to enter into agreements pursuant to this act and, pursuant to such agreements or to the extent that authority is delegated to it by the Administrator, to administer other vocational rehabilitation services.

(c) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated from revenues of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, and for each fiscal year thereafter, a sum sufficient to enable the Board of Vocational Education to carry out the purposes of this section.

(d) The act entitled "An act to provide for the vocational rehabilitation of disabled residents of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved February 23, 1929, as amended, shall not be effective with respect to any period after June 30, 1943.

TITLE IV—ADMINISTRATION

SEC. 401. (a) In carrying out his duties under this act, the Administrator is authorized—

(1) to utilize existing facilities of appropriate units of the Federal Security Agency,

and to enter into agreements and cooperative working arrangements with public agencies and private persons, agencies, and institutions, within the United States, its Territories and possessions, for services and use of facilities of such persons, agencies, and institutions and to compensate them and such units for such services and use;

(2) to make or cause to be made by other agencies, including foreign agencies, studies, investigations, and reports with respect to abilities, aptitudes, and capacities of handicapped individuals, development of their potentialities, and their utilization in gainful and suitable employment;

(3) to call in consultants and to pay their traveling expenses, and to pay their other necessary expenses while away from their homes, or not to exceed \$10 per day in lieu thereof;

(4) to detail any of the personnel of the Federal Security Agency to attend, for not more than 12 weeks in any 1 year, appropriate courses of instruction conducted by other public agencies and private agencies and organizations, which detail shall be part of the official duties of such employees;

(5) to provide personnel so detailed with necessary books and other material and pay their tuition, or reimburse them for expenditures therefor; and, in any case where such detail is away from an employee's official station he may, for purposes of subsistence and traveling expenses, be deemed on travel status.

(b) Experts and consultants, when deemed necessary in the discretion of the Administrator, may be employed without regard to the civil-service laws or the Classification Act of 1923, as amended. For the purposes of this act, the Administrator may accept uncompensated services upon such agreement as he may deem feasible.

(c) There shall be in the Federal Security Agency a Rehabilitation Service under the management of a Director of Rehabilitation appointed by the Federal Security Administrator. Under the supervision and direction of the Federal Security Administrator, such Director and Service shall administer functions vested in the Federal Security Administrator by this act, pursuant to appropriate delegation of authority by him, and also provide such services in connection with rehabilitation of disabled veterans as may be authorized by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs pursuant to agreement with the Federal Security Administrator.

(d) Payment for use of facilities and services obtained pursuant to this act by the Federal Security Administrator from units of the Federal Security Agency or other Federal agencies shall be by check, either in advance or as reimbursement, for the actual or estimated cost of such facilities and services, and amounts so paid shall be credited, as determined by such Administrator, either to special working funds as provided in existing law or to the appropriation or appropriations against which charges are to be made or have been made in providing the facilities or services, and payment for services and facilities of other agencies shall be made by check to the payee or payees specified by such agencies.

(e) The Administrator is authorized to promulgate such regulations, and to delegate to any officer or employee, or to any agency, of the United States or of any State, Territory, or possession of the United States, or of any political subdivision of any of them, such of his powers and duties, except the promulgation of regulations, as he finds necessary or expedient in carrying out the purposes of this act.

TRAINING ALLOWANCES—LIMITATIONS

SEC. 402. Training allowances shall be granted a trainee hereunder only during training, or authorized leaves of absence therefrom, and not to exceed 60 days after

completion of training, and shall not be payable for any period he fails to pursue his training as required by regulations.

MISCONDUCT AND NONCOOPERATION OF TRAINEES

SEC. 403. The Administrator shall include in his regulations provisions designed to secure good conduct, regular attendance, and cooperation of trainees.

In case of misconduct or failure of attendance or cooperation of a trainee, his training allowance may be reduced or discontinued, or his training and training allowance discontinued, temporarily, or permanently, in accordance with the applicable regulations, at the discretion of the Administrator.

ADJUSTING ALLOWANCES DURING ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

SEC. 404. When on-the-job training with an employer is provided a trainee receiving a training allowance, such employer shall be required to report any maintenance provided, or remuneration in money or goods, given or promised the trainee by him, directly or indirectly. Equitable reduction shall be made in any training allowance provided such trainee where any substantial amount of such maintenance or remuneration is received by the trainee. The form and manner of making reports under this section, and the reduction in training allowance, shall be in accordance with appropriate regulations, which shall be prescribed by the Administrator.

SEC. 405. (a) Where any civilian certifiable as a war-disabled civilian suffers an injury, or an aggravation of any injury, as a result of the pursuit of a course of training prescribed for him pursuant to title II of this act, and not the result of his own misconduct, and such injury or aggravation results in additional disability or death of such person, benefits as to such person shall be awarded in the manner and to the extent and subject to the limitations provided in the act of February 15, 1934 (48 Stat. 351), as amended: *Provided*, That where such injury or aggravation or death results in payment of benefits under State employees' compensation laws, or recovery from or settlement with or on behalf of the employer, the Administrator is hereby authorized and directed, under regulations to be prescribed by him, to reduce the benefits authorized by this section by such amount as will offset such other payment received on account of such injury, aggravation, or death.

(b) Where any person suffers an injury, or an aggravation of an injury, as a result of hospitalization or medical or surgical treatment provided him pursuant to section 309 of this act or prescribed for him under title II of this act, and not the result of his own misconduct, and such injury or aggravation results in additional disability or death of such person, benefits as to such person shall be awarded in the manner and to the extent and subject to the limitations provided in the act of February 15, 1934 (48 Stat. 351), as amended: *Provided*, That where such injury, aggravation, or death results in any recovery from or settlement with or on behalf of the person chargeable therewith, a reduction in benefits shall be made as provided in subsection (a) of this section.

SEC. 406. Annual reports shall be made to the Congress by the Administrator as to the administration of his functions under this act.

SEC. 407. There are hereby authorized to be included in the appropriations for the Federal Security Agency such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this act, and the appropriations "Salaries and expenses, vocational rehabilitation," Federal Security Agency, for the fiscal year 1943 are hereby made available for administering the provisions of this act.

SEC. 408. In the selection of cases to be served, in the character of service to be pro-

vided, and in the general administration of this act, there shall be no discrimination for or against any individual eligible for the benefits of this act because of sex, race, creed, color, national origin, or membership or nonmembership in an industrial, fraternal, or private organization of any kind.

SEC. 409. The amendments made by this act shall be deemed to be a part of this act; and the term "this act," when used in such amendments or elsewhere in this act, shall be deemed to include the provisions of such amendments and the other provisions of this act.

SEC. 410. For the purposes of this act, the terms "vocational rehabilitation" and "rehabilitation services" mean any services necessary to render a disabled individual fit to engage in a remunerative occupation, including physical restoration and repair, medical examination and care, prosthetic and other devices, physical and occupational therapy, training, allowances for support and maintenance during training, assistance in securing employment, and other appropriate services.

Amend the title so as to read: "A bill to provide vocational rehabilitation to persons disabled in war industries or otherwise and to render such persons fit for service in war industries, agriculture, or other useful civilian industry, and for other purposes."

MR. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I can state positively that the amendment which I have offered has been gone over with a fine-tooth comb. Senators may rely on the report. The only thing that has been taken out of it is the references in the titles following title I to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, which, of course, were necessary when the administrative titles of the bill provided for veterans' rehabilitation as well as that of civilians.

MR. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

MR. CLARK of Missouri. I understand that the Senator from Wisconsin merely asked unanimous consent to substitute the new amendment for the amendment reported by the committee. Am I correct in that understanding?

MR. LA FOLLETTE. The Senator from Missouri is correct. That is all I ask to have done.

MR. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator is not asking that the amendment be adopted at this time?

MR. LA FOLLETTE. Of course not. It will be pending, like any other amendment.

MR. CLARK of Missouri. I feel it incumbent upon me to say at this time that it is my purpose, as soon as I can properly obtain the floor, to move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 786, which was reported from the Finance Committee, which would have the effect of displacing Senate bill 180 as the unfinished business until such time as Senate bill 786 has been disposed of. I have no objection to the amendment being offered by the Senator from Wisconsin as a substitute for the committee amendment, although I will say that it seems to me to be a rather startling procedure, after notice has been given and the bill has been taken up, to submit an entirely new draft, with which, so far as I know, only the Senator from Wisconsin is familiar.

So far as I know, no other Senator has had an opportunity to examine it. I certainly have not had an opportunity to examine it, and I reserve any objection I may have to the so-called substitute, because it seems to me to be a very startling procedure.

MR. WHITE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

MR. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

MR. WHITE. I understand that the amendment offered by the Senator from Wisconsin is his own amendment, and is offered in his individual capacity. Will the Senator indicate to us what the attitude of the committee is toward the procedure he is now following?

MR. LA FOLLETTE. So far as I have been able to ascertain, after conferring with individual Senators, this action is satisfactory to them. It has not been possible to have a meeting of the committee since the House committee acted upon the matter. However, I do not offer the amendment as a committee amendment. I asked unanimous consent that it may be considered in lieu of the committee amendment. I will say to the Senator from Maine that the purpose of offering the amendment in this form is that otherwise a large number of technical amendments would be required to eliminate the references to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs which occur in the administrative titles of the bill. From the standpoint of parliamentary procedure, I thought that would be a very much more orderly process than to offer the technical amendments which would be necessary to eliminate the references to the Veterans' Administration which occur in the other titles of the measure.

Let me say further that the amendment which is now pending is identical in language with titles II, III, and IV of the original bill, with the exception that reference to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs has been removed from those titles.

MR. President, I feel that this question is one which should have the earnest consideration of Congress. I am satisfied that if the proposed legislation is enacted and the appropriate legislative action is taken to provide funds to carry out the joint Federal-State program on a larger scale within a relatively short space of time we can begin to offer to the labor markets for both industry and agriculture rehabilitated persons who will add tremendously to the war effort, and who will have the satisfaction of becoming self-sustaining individuals. I feel that we could take no more important step at this time in helping to build up the morale of this group of persons. I feel that we are doubly justified in acting upon this problem because of the tremendous increase in industrial accidents growing out of the greatly expanded war-production effort. According to figures which I obtained a few months ago, industrial accidents have increased by 70 percent, although industrial employment in this country has not risen anywhere near that figure in proportion.

Furthermore, many persons who have been rejected for military service by the Army or Navy are now finding their way

to the added list of persons seeking rehabilitation service from the Federal-State system as it exists today.

For all these reasons, Mr. President, I believe that the Congress should act as boldly and vigorously in this field as in every other field in connection with the war effort. It is entirely possible, if this system is expanded, and if funds are made available on a sufficiently large scale, that we can increase the number of persons who are being rehabilitated and made available for the agricultural and labor forces of the country from the mere 50,000 who are now being rehabilitated each year to 10 times that number.

In short, Mr. President, within a reasonable length of time we ought to be able to rehabilitate 500,000 persons in this country. To do so would be to make a real contribution to the war effort.

Senators who have not had time to look into this situation may have the impression that this is some type of social service work. The other day I talked with an industrialist from my own State. He told me that if he did not have in his plant today rehabilitated persons with physical handicaps he would not be able to maintain his high record of production. So industry is learning in this shortage of manpower that men who were rejected for military service because of physical handicaps, and who have been properly rehabilitated and trained, are a very important addition to the national effort for production at the present time.

So, Mr. President, I hope the pending measure will be considered upon its merits. I hope no one will gain the impression which I fear has been created, that an effort is being made to seize upon the war emergency for the purpose of accomplishing social objectives. So far as I am personally concerned, I believe we should maintain and advance our social objectives; but I also assert that we have before us a measure which would contribute greatly to the immediate future so far as manpower is concerned.

Mr. GUFFEY obtained the floor.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Gillette	O'Mahoney
Austin	Green	Overton
Bailey	Guffey	Radcliffe
Ball	Gurney	Reed
Bankhead	Hatch	Revercomb
Barbour	Hayden	Reynolds
Barkley	Hill	Russell
Bone	Holman	Scruggs
Brewster	Johnson, Calif.	Smith
Bridges	Johnson, Colo.	Stewart
Brooks	Kilgore	Taft
Buck	La Follette	Thomas, Okla.
Burton	Langer	Thomas, Utah
Bushfield	Lodge	Tobey
Byrd	Lucas	Truman
Capper	McCarran	Tunnell
Caraway	McClellan	Tydings
Chavez	McNary	Vandenberg
Clark, Idaho	Maloney	Van Nuys
Clark, Mo.	Maybank	Wagner
Connally	Mead	Walsh
Danaher	Millikin	Wheeler
Davis	Moore	White
Eastland	Murdoch	Wiley
Ferguson	Murray	Williams
George	Nye	Wilson
Gerry	O'Daniel	

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Florida [Mr. ANDREWS], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], and the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR] are absent from the Senate because of illness.

The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. BILBO] and the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. CHANDLER], the Senator from California [Mr. DOWNEY], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. McFARLAND], and the Senator from Washington [Mr. WALLGREN] are detained on official business for the Senate.

Mr. McNARY. The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BUTLER], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HAWKES], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. ROBERTSON], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. THOMAS], and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. WHEAT] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD] is absent because of illness.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BONE in the chair). Eighty Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

TEN YEARS OF ROOSEVELT

Mr. GUFFEY. Mr. President, 10 years ago—on March 4, 1933—Franklin Delano Roosevelt first took the oath of office as President of the United States, and entered upon his historic administration as Chief Executive of this great Republic.

Then, as now, it was a time of great crisis, emotional confusion, and political turmoil.

Then, as now, there were those who sought to play politics with the national safety and the public welfare.

Then, as now, there were some who cried "dictator," when the President sought to put first things first and to straighten out the unholy mess he inherited from his predecessor, Herbert Hoover, and from 12 years of Republican misrule.

Then, as now, the great majority of plain Americans followed his lead, not because they thought of him as a superman, but as a neighbor, as their friend, as a man who was doing his best to bring Democratic order out of Republican chaos.

Those were the days when the banks were closing, the bread lines were lengthening, the farmers were threatening to lynch judges, and honest businessmen were going broke.

Those were the days when millions faced hunger, eviction, foreclosures, homelessness, misery, and hopeless debt.

Those were the days when Mr. Hoover had ordered his Chief of Staff to lead the United States Army, with tanks, bayonets, and fire, against the wretched encampment of the hungry veterans who had risked their lives for their country.

Those were the days when this country faced repeated disappointments at home, as prosperity refused to come around the corner of Broad and Wall Streets, and faced humiliations abroad, as the far-eastern war began, the war debtors went off the gold standard, and Hitler surged forward to power in Germany.

It is well for Americans to remember those days of doubt and despair, when the ultrarich were stocking canned goods in well-concealed hide-outs in the country, when shaky millionaires held tank-filled airplanes for a quick get-away, and when the rumble of social revolt was in the air, in the headlines, and in the hearts of Americans.

Then came Roosevelt and the New Deal.

The New Deal has been often defined and sometimes derided; but to me it represented a willingness to do what had to be done in order to save America, without regard to habit of government or tradition of thought.

The banks had to be closed, to save America. Roosevelt closed them, and the bankers went down on their knees and said, "Thank God for Roosevelt."

The hungry had to be fed; the naked had to be clothed; the homeless had to be housed. Roosevelt fed, clothed, and housed them; and the bankers held up their hands in holy horror and said, "This will undermine their moral stamina."

Great public works, such as dams, bridges, and waterways were long overdue. Roosevelt built them, and the bankers cried aloud, "It's not constitutional."

The farmers faced economic and social disaster. Roosevelt saved them; he preserved their homes and their way of life; and the opposition screamed with rage, "This is regimentation."

Through all the years of effort and experiment, of trial and error, of success and failure, like a great river the public support of the American people sustained Roosevelt, while the insults and the opposition were just so much froth and driftwood on the face of the waters.

In 1936, the Republicans dreamed that the Roosevelt administration was over; but the American people "took" Governor Landon like Russia took Hitler at Stalingrad. They kept Roosevelt in power.

In 1940, the Republicans despaired of having any Republican defeat the President, so they nominated a former Democrat for the Presidency, Mr. Wendell L. Willkie.

This time, the opposition thought they had Roosevelt because of what they called "third-term tradition."

The American people "took" Mr. Willkie, and again kept Roosevelt in power.

Today, the opposition is desperate, for it knows there is no American tradition which says that a good President cannot serve four terms in the White House.

Just as there is no American tradition which says a bad President is entitled to two terms in the White House.

We judge our Presidents by what they do and what they are, and we keep them and get rid of them to suit ourselves—not to suit the convenience of party ambition or "politics as usual."

Ten years after Roosevelt's first inaugural there are countless Americans, rich and poor, of every race, creed, and color—bankers included—who say, "Thank God for Roosevelt."

Their impatience with the tricks and trades, with the sneers and jibes, of partisan opposition to the President, is growing every day. They respect the Congress of the United States, but they do not love it, except as it serves the public welfare and promotes the common defense.

They neither respect nor love the majority of the newspapers which lend themselves to the bought-and-paid-for sniping of the ultrarich, playing the same old game of "business as usual," "profits as usual," "tax-exemption as usual," "down with labor and let's get that man out of the White House, so we can make some money."

For on March 4, 1943, as on March 4, 1933, we face a great crisis.

This crisis is a great world war; a great world revolution; a total challenge to everything we believe, everything we mean by freedom and democracy.

We can all remember how President Roosevelt's voice—almost alone—was raised in warning against the coming Axis war. We can remember how the opposition called him a warmonger when he called for a quarantine of the aggressor nations in his famous Chicago speech in 1937.

Today, what would we not give if we had heeded Roosevelt's warning and quarantined Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito?

We can remember in 1939 how Roosevelt urged the Congress to remain in session and amend the so-called neutrality law; and we can remember, too, how the late Senator Borah, of Idaho, leader of the Republican isolationists, refused to listen to the President and said that he had superior sources of information which assured him that there would be no war.

We can remember how Roosevelt called for larger armaments for the defense of America—and how the so-called economizers of the opposition took pride in cutting them down, even after the war began, until the very week that France fell.

We can remember how they carped and complained at Roosevelt's historic deal with Winston Churchill, when we swapped overage destroyers for 99-year leases on the Atlantic bases which are necessary to our defense as a nation.

We can remember the long, grim months, as war came nearer, and as the opponents of President Roosevelt screamed that he was a warmonger whenever he made a move for our safety and welfare.

And we can remember—all of us remember—how, when war came, in the dastardly attack on Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941, there were still voices raised to complain that the President was to blame for not having warned our forces of the danger of attack.

We can remember how a large and notorious newspaper sought to spread the belief that Roosevelt wanted Gen. Douglas MacArthur to be smashed at Bataan for fear that MacArthur might run for President in 1944.

And I have just seen a singularly blasphemous column, written by the pet columnist of the appeaser press, attacking

the President for his great and humble Washington Day speech by accusing him of comparing himself to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Somebody should tell Joe Patterson to call off his dog before he befools the altar of our common faith in God and our common trust in the decency of the average man.

Yet, in all this, President Roosevelt has been uncomplaining and has given the country which has three times elected him to our highest office the very best he has.

Here and now I should like to pay tribute to Roosevelt's war leadership.

Here and now I should like to remind the opposition that Roosevelt's wise diplomacy has assured that the war we wage is being fought far from our borders and at the side of great and powerful Allies.

The Nazis pride themselves on what they call practical policy.

Thanks to Roosevelt, we are allied with the greatest nations of the earth—the British Empire, the Soviet Union, and free China.

Thanks to Roosevelt, we have not had to fight a bloody battle, house by house, and street by street, in Boston, Chicago, or Los Angeles.

Thanks to Roosevelt, no hostile bomb, after 15 months of war, has dropped on the soil of the United States.

Thanks to Roosevelt, the nations of the Western Hemisphere, with one exception, and the free peoples of Europe, are with us in this war, because Roosevelt kicked out dollar diplomacy and substituted the good neighbor policy.

Thanks to Roosevelt, we have today the most powerful Army in our history, the greatest Navy in our history, and a tremendously powerful Air Force.

Thanks to Roosevelt, we have carried the war against the Axis to the Axis countries themselves. We have bombed Tokyo. We have bombed Naples. We have bombed the cities of German-occupied Europe, side by side with Britain's magnificent Royal Air Force.

Side by side with the mighty British Navy, our warships are fighting in every ocean and have already administered historic defeats to the proud Japanese Navy.

At Midway, Coral Sea, the Solomons, Guadalcanal, Wake Island, North Africa, our men and our ships, our guns, our tanks and our planes have been making and are now making history and saving America.

Here and now, I also wish to call to the Nation's attention the fact that President Roosevelt himself has four sons in the armed forces of the United States; that three of them are now serving in active war zones; that two of them have fought in several theaters of the war; and that there is not a commanding officer of our forces who would order one of the Roosevelt boys out of danger into some soft, safe, job behind the lines.

Here and now, I wish to call the Nation's attention to the fact that Roosevelt has faced the dangers of the Atlantic crossing to confer with Winston Churchill in North Africa, under the nose of the German Air Force, and that his diplo-

macy brought to an end a period of tension and cross purposes in North Africa which threatened for a while the success of the whole campaign.

Here and now I wish to call the Nation's attention to the fact that in Roosevelt we have a Chief Executive who can meet and deal with the leaders of other nations on equal—on better than equal—terms. Kings and queens, presidents and prime ministers, have come and gone at the White House. Madame Chiang Kai-shek is only the latest of a series of world leaders who have come and will come to Washington to meet the man who has voiced for America its iron will to defend our freedom, and who has also voiced the American demand for a world at peace, under justice, with freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion, everywhere in the world.

This, then, is Roosevelt, after 10 years in the White House.

I know there are Republicans whose business it is to oppose him, but you know, and they know, and I know, that if Franklin Delano Roosevelt had been a Republican there would be no praise they would not heap upon him, no pride they would not take in him, or honor they would not accord him. You know, and they know, and I know, that unless the war is won in 1944 President Roosevelt will again be drafted and chosen to lead our country, as he has been three times in the past 10 years, by the votes of millions upon millions of patriotic Americans, rich and poor, high and low—farmers, workers, businessmen, Republicans, and Democrats, men and women, because they know that Roosevelt is their friend, their good neighbor, and their good and faithful servant.

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION OF CERTAIN DISABLED PERSONS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 180) to provide vocational rehabilitation education, training, and other services to persons disabled while members of the armed forces, or disabled in war industries or otherwise, and to render such persons fit for service in war industries, agriculture, or other useful civilian industry, and for other purposes.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, it is one of the prime functions of any responsible government to provide full and adequate protection to its citizens. This protection, while it should never assume the proportions of benign paternalism, should, nevertheless, extend to every individual and every group which stand in need of sustenance and support from time to time. While the protection which a government owes to its citizens assumes many different complexions and extends into many different fields, I feel that the matter of vocational rehabilitation is one of the most progressive, necessary, and beneficial functions that any government can be called upon to perform.

During my many years in public life, and in all my private pursuits, I have always advocated sound rehabilitation for every group which stands in need of it.

At the close of the last World War, this Nation was confronted with a tre-

mendously large rehabilitation program, and, as Secretary of Labor and Chairman of the Board for Vocational Education, I willingly and enthusiastically participated in those programs which laid the groundwork for the present system of vocational rehabilitation, which has done so much for many of the less fortunate citizens of our Nation.

In this system we have paid particular attention to the needs of those who have lost their sight, their hearing, or some necessary member of their body. We have also made great and sincere efforts in behalf of those of our citizens who suffered incapacitating injury in the last war for freedom.

Today America is again involved in an unrelenting and globe-girdling war—a war designed to settle for all time whether or not free men and free governments are to endure upon the face of the earth. It goes without saying that in this tremendous struggle our casualties will be heavy, and the demands for rehabilitation will be unprecedented. It is in the stark realization of these facts that we must now prepare to lay the groundwork for a system of rehabilitation which will be both constructive and adequate.

Americans are proud people—schooled in democracy. Stimulated by the incentive of free enterprise, they have attained a degree of self-reliance and ambitious creation far superior to that which has marked the history of any other people. All those who for one reason or another find themselves handicapped, deterred, or unable to compete thoroughly and fully with their fellows in this free and democratic Republic, must be given the equipment they need to work out for themselves a self-respecting and progressive station in life.

In the ever-expanding economy of America, we shall have need for every trained and every competent person obtainable; for, in the developments that will come with the war's end, the production powers of America in every field and every industry, will be taxed to the utmost; and the demands for skilled and capable manpower will be of unprecedented proportions. While America has always been, and probably always will be, the most charitable, the most understanding, and the most free-hearted nation in the world, the fact remains that our own people prefer self-reliance and self-attainment to the most warm-hearted of charities.

I urge, therefore, that the pending bill providing for the vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons be speedily enacted, to the end that the close of this war will find that the American Government has the machinery, the system, and the funds necessary to carry out its inherent obligations to those of its citizens who have become disabled in their country's service, and to all those who, without rehabilitation, would be unable to assume their full and dynamic roles as self-reliant and self-supporting American citizens.

Mr. TAFT submitted an amendment in the nature of a substitute intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 180) to

provide vocational rehabilitation education, training, and other services to persons disabled while members of the armed forces, or disabled in war industries or otherwise, and to render such persons fit for service in war industries, agriculture, or other useful civilian industry, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

SHORTAGE OF MEAT

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I am prompted to speak concerning a situation which commands the interest and serious consideration of every Member of this body. It is a situation which concerns a large and important segment of the economic structure of my own State, Pennsylvania, as well as that of practically every State in the Union. It concerns, as well, the welfare of all the people of the United States. I refer to the present deplorable and inexcusable shortage of meat throughout the Nation.

Notwithstanding the fact that I have been importuned constantly for the past 2 months by people all over the State of Pennsylvania—by letters, by telegrams, and in personal interviews—to speak with respect to this grave matter, I have refrained deliberately until now from so doing for a number of reasons.

It has been my custom, in matters of the character involved, to look for an equitable solution from the administrative bureaus or departments responsible for hardship, distress, or confusion that may result from administrative action. I have not deviated from that practice in this instance. In fact, I have endeavored diligently, persistently, and patiently to secure relief for my constituents from the Office of Price Administration. This procedure, I regret to report, has been completely barren of results. Officials at O. P. A. have been courteous personified. I have been assured and reassured that they, too, have the interests and welfare of my constituents and the Nation at heart. But still I find my constituents without meat; still I find that literally hundreds of nonslaughtering meat wholesalers and processors in my State have been compelled to close their doors—many after years and years of productive and efficient service to their respective communities, and I am forced to the reluctant conclusion that, like many of my colleagues here in this body, and on the House side, I am the victim of what colloquially is known as the administrative "brush-off," which in no wise differs from the common variety of "brush-off" except that at O. P. A. they say it with flowers.

The present Price Administrator, Prentiss Brown, is a former colleague of ours. I have unbounded admiration for his ability, for his integrity, for his sincerity of purpose, and for his deep and abiding desire to be of assistance to his country. When he agreed to take over the reins from Leon Henderson, I felt that at long last businessmen of the Nation—large and small—had a real friend at court, one who would regard their trials and tribulations with sym-

pathy and understanding. I felt also that somehow, someday, Prentiss Brown would carve a straight path through the jungle of administrative red tape that has beset the phase of the war effort that has been entrusted to O. P. A. Nothing has arisen since his appointment to alter my opinion of the new Price Administrator, and nothing that is said in these remarks should be construed as a reflection upon his effort to date. The meat problem is manifold and complex in ramifications. It is a subject only for technicians with a background as practical meat men; not for a recent appointee with multitudinous and diverse headaches in the various other phases of his work.

It has been my conviction also that the problem, as well as the current situation about the Nation, transcends the realm of politics. Most of my colleagues on the Republican side of this Chamber are of like mind. We have felt—until now—that there was too much at stake, so far as the Nation at large is concerned, to permit even a thought that someone in the Republican Party sought to grasp at an opportunity to make political capital. Therefore, to eliminate that possibility, to make certain that no one could cry "politics," we have remained silent, hoping and trusting that our distinguished colleagues on the opposite side of the Chamber would initiate a real discussion that could be productive of definite remedial action. But it seems we have waited in vain. As far as I am concerned, we have remained inarticulate too long. Permit me to anticipate, at this point, possible indignant protestations from colleagues that letters have been written and telephone conversations had with various O. P. A. officials. With what result, may I inquire? Has a single letter or a single telephone call brought one more ounce of meat to civilian dinner tables? Has it improved by one iota the plight of hundreds of nonslaughtering processors and wholesalers who are victims of the O. P. A. bungling? I hardly need remind my colleagues who are experienced in matters of the character involved that the solution of a problem so involved, so complex, and of such immense proportions and ramifications, can hardly be found in letter-writing or telephone conversations. The time has come for a showdown. The morale of the civilian population may be in the balance. The continuance in business or the financial ruin of hundreds of nonslaughtering processors and wholesalers about the Nation most certainly is in the balance.

The situation before us is simple. O. P. A. has issued a series of meat regulations which have been proven, beyond peradventure of a doubt, to be unsound, impractical, and ruinous to the industry; regulations that have created a "black market," which makes meat available to the rich but not to the poor; regulations which tend to hand the entire industry over to the big packers by squeezing out competition from nonslaughtering processors and wholesalers. These regulations are the academic brain-child of a group of theorists and experimentalists

with little or no practical experience in the meat industry. Conceding the general break-down of these measures this group, I am informed, stubbornly refuses to take any action that will improve the situation. That, I submit, transfers the responsibility to the President, or to the Congress; and no indication of action being apparent from the White House, the responsibility for definite, immediate action reposes with those of us who constitute the Congress.

The people of the Nation—the civilian population and the small business interests—are well aware where the responsibility for action now lies. Letters I have received and reports from various sources in my State attest to that fact. I feel it is no exaggeration to state that all the people of the Nation are doing a lot of thinking and wondering why we, in the Congress, have not acted sooner.

During the time of the first Administrator of O. P. A.—and thereafter, when his shadow still hovered, benignly or otherwise, over the deliberations of the aggregation which regulates the lives, habits, and customs of 132,000,000 humans—a series of regulations was born. The regulations were concerned with meat. Their fundamental purpose and prime objective, namely, to prevent inflation, is commendable, provided the modus operandi, that is, the means adopted for accomplishment of that end, is based on sound and practical premises.

Another O. P. A. measure, known as the meat restriction order, limited slaughterers, for their 1943 operations, to 70 percent of their 1941 kill. The purpose of the order, as suggested by O. P. A., was to insure an equitable share of available meat for all—for the armed forces, for lend-lease, and for the civilian population. That, too, was basically and theoretically a commendable aim; and one undoubtedly necessary during the wartime emergency.

Mr. President, I make no claim to being a meat economist, as some of the group at O. P. A. are designated, and neither could I qualify as a meat expert from the standpoint of having had practical experience in the business, but it seems elementary that before tampering with an industry which is inseparably linked with the success or failure of the economic structure of the Nation as well as the war effort, and produces a commodity which is indispensable to the national health and welfare, due regard should be accorded such important fundamentals thereof as production, standardization, and distribution. Most certainly, all are integral and necessary parts of the whole, and to dislocate one or two obviously would tend to dislocate the entity. The man who breeds and fattens livestock, the man who dresses and prepares it for the market, the man who processes it into sausage and other byproducts, the man who distributes it through long-established and efficient wholesale channels, and, finally, the man who retails it, who gets it to our dinner tables—all of these have essential roles in the meat picture that cannot and should not be ignored if the Government is to regulate the industry in an efficient, effective, and equitable manner. No sane

person would start out to build a three-story house and decide to omit the first story. But that appears to be the design of O. P. A. architecture so far as the meat regulations are concerned. I hope that my friend, Administrator Brown, will correct this design.

The meat restriction order, as I have stated, limits the slaughterer, that is, the packer, to 70 percent of his 1941 kill. But the nonslaughtering processors and wholesalers have helped him build the volume of business upon which his present quota is based. Their business with him through the years—their volume of purchases running into the millions of pounds per week—played an important and vital part in the quota which he has received. In other words, his present quota, without the volume of business given him by the nonslaughtering group, would have been considerably less. O. P. A. ignored that fact in setting his quota. The packer enjoys the entire volume of his 1941 kill—that which went for his own use and that which he sold to nonslaughtering processors and wholesalers. Has he manifested appreciation for the contribution from the nonslaughtering processors and wholesalers to his present favorable position? Most certainly not. The packer is utilizing his 70 percent for his own processing plants and wholesale branch houses. Since the regulations have been in effect the nonslaughtering group has received little or no meat from him. Many have been forced to go out of business. The O. P. A. restriction order literally hands the packer complete monopoly of the meat industry. Neither the regulations nor the restriction order contain any provision requiring the packer to sell meat to the nonslaughtering processor or wholesaler. In other words, they provide him the means for the elimination of competition, and a complete monopoly of the meat industry.

The nonslaughtering processors represent 37 percent of the poundage of meats utilized in the Nation's processing plants. The nonslaughterers, as distinguished from the slaughtering processors, hire others to do their slaughtering. They are formidable competitors of the big packers, and it does not take much of an imagination to visualize the proportions of the picture that will be evolved for the packer with competition of that character out of the way.

First, O. P. A. and the Department of Agriculture joined in telling the people of the Nation that there was plenty of meat. But now—now that something has gone awry with O. P. A. regulations, a suddenly discovered shortage of meat has become apparent. That, plus the "black market" and other convenient alibis, constitutes the answer to the all-important, Nation-wide query of why there is not any meat.

Mr. President, I wonder if the theorists at O. P. A. have considered the role that the nonslaughtering processor plays in adding to an available meat supply. One official at O. P. A., a Mr. Madigan, who came to O. P. A. with a 20-year background with Armour & Co., one of the Big Four in the packing industry, was quoted in the Philadelphia Record as stating

that the nonslaughtering processors and wholesalers are "necessary war casualties." But are they necessary war casualties? If Mr. Madigan is sincere in this estimate of their usefulness—and he should know something about the meat business with a 20-year background as a big packer—he apparently chooses to forget that the average processor takes 100 pounds of meat and, in the sausage alone, turns out 15 pounds more product. In other words, processors add to, increase, an existing meat supply. Thus, when, as O. P. A. would have the Nation believe, a meat shortage is upon us, O. P. A. itself has closed the door to a large and important branch of the industry which possesses the facilities for increasing the supply of meat that is available. The basis for that, it would appear, falls into the category of reasoning that was described as "pons asinorum" or "the bridge of asses."

Mr. Walter Seiler, president of the National Association of Non-Slaughtering Meat Processors and Wholesalers, operates in Philadelphia a processing plant that was established, years ago, by his father. It has grown up with Philadelphia. It is known far and wide through the State and the Nation, for that matter, for the excellence of its products, for its high degree of business ethics, and for its contribution to the economic progress of our State. Under normal conditions, the Seiler firm operated 42 trucks about the streets of Philadelphia. It now operates, as the result of O. P. A. regulations, 12 trucks. And whereas before the regulations it employed 150 men, its pay roll now carries about 58. On February 19 last, Mr. Seiler appeared before the Patman small business committee of the House and made the following statement:

So the packer being curtailed to 70 percent of his 1941 quota and having an unprecedented demand for his products, as a good businessman, sees to it that all of the available supply of civilian meat is processed through his own establishment, and instead of 531 registered quota slaughterers in this country who have under their control all the civilian meat in this country who did distribute it prior, like the 10 and 20 cars we had previously, that meat is now being processed by the slaughtering packers because it is more profitable for them to process than to sell to us in the fresh state. This means that 37 percent of the poundage of the industry has its business life imperiled.

Mr. Seiler's present condition is that of hundreds of other nonslaughterers from Maine to California, who find themselves in the same desperate situation—unnecessary and unwarranted victims of impractical planning at O. P. A.

However, there exists another class—another important and vital segment of the meat industry—which is suffering extreme hardship and is being threatened with extinction by the regulations. I refer to the nonslaughtering wholesalers, whose number is legion throughout the Nation, whose distributive facilities are extensive, and whose efficient distributive efforts through the years have built up vast retail outlets. The wholesalers are not alone affected disastrously by the meat-restriction order. They are

pinned on the horns of the twin dilemma by both the order and the price ceiling. In other words, if one does not put them completely out of business, the other will. Perhaps some farsighted "expert" at O. P. A. was more practical than academic; and if that particular individual desired to make certain that the meat wholesaler could not possibly survive the regulations, he certainly did a most thorough and effective job.

Among other things, the price regulations provide that for sales to wholesalers in less-than-carlot lots the packer must extend to the wholesaler a discount of 50 cents per hundredweight. This discount, note well, is not made applicable to sales under similar conditions to hotel-supply houses, to processors, or to retailers. What is the packer doing as a result thereof? The answer is obvious. He is not selling to the wholesaler at all. He does not have to so long as profitable markets are available with the hotel- and restaurant-supply people, and certain big retailers. Wholesale houses in your community, in my community, and in communities all over this land of ours are closing their doors for no other reason than that they have the misfortune to be on the wrong side of O. P. A. reasoning.

On February 17 last, there appeared before the Patman small business committee of the House a Mr. C. M. Elkinton, who is Price Executive of the Food Division at O. P. A. Mr. Elkinton has supervision of the development of price regulations covering meats, fats, oils, fish, and fish products. It was Mr. Elkinton who fathered the present price regulations which have contributed to the present chaos in the meat industry. Mr. Elkinton was a college professor. His subject was agricultural economics. In testifying, he described his practical background in the meat industry as follows:

I never worked in the packing industry except for a very brief experience. My first employment was in the abattoirs in a small town, but I have not had an extensive experience of any kind in the packing plants.

At another point in his testimony Mr. Elkinton said:

The counsel of one of the groups of wholesalers asked me about 3 weeks ago, "Do you believe we are going to be necessary in the distribution of meats for the war period?"

I do believe it absolutely. One reason we are not getting good distribution in many areas is because they are not getting the meat and not serving the retailers they formerly served.

This statement constitutes an admission by a key official at O. P. A. that non-slaughtering wholesalers are a necessity in the success of the war effort, and that due to their present inability to obtain meat, distributive facilities have broken down. But what has Mr. Elkinton done to get meat for the wholesalers and thus remedy the break-down of the distributive situation which he deplors? He is the price executive concerned with meat. He possesses the power to act. The answer is, nothing.

On December 19 last, the Pennsylvania Grocers' Association, which comprises within its membership 8,000 individual independent grocers throughout the

State, wrote a lengthy letter to Mr. Leon Henderson, who was then Price Administrator. This communication set forth clearly, comprehensively, and forcefully the difficulties and hardships which resulted from the regulations, not only to nonslaughtering processors and wholesalers, but to consumers as well.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks the letter from the Pennsylvania Grocers' Association.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TUNNELL in the chair). Is there objection? There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PENNSYLVANIA GROCERS' ASSOCIATION,
Philadelphia, Pa., December 19, 1942.
Hon. LEON HENDERSON,
Administrator, Office of
Price Administration,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Recently the attention of our State association, which has a membership of over 8,000 individual, i. e., independent retail grocers, has been called by both our members and our affiliated local organizations to which they belong to a dangerous shortage of meat and meat products in our member stores due to the fact that local non-slaughtering meat processors and wholesalers are unable to supply them. To a large extent these local or sectional meat processors and wholesalers are the only factors in the meat business who maintain adequate distributive machinery through which meat supplies can be obtained by our grocer members. This is particularly true as regards meat products such as hams, bacon, sausage, lunch meats, etc.

Our headquarters office immediately began to look into this situation, and in this connection the writer conferred with Mr. Walter Seiler, of Karl Seiler & Sons, Philadelphia, Pa., who is a director of the American Meat Institute, a member of the Meat Section of the War Production Board, chairman of the board of the National Independent Association of Nonslaughtering Meat Processors and Wholesalers, vice president of the Pennsylvania Independent Meat Packers Association, and chairman of the sausage committee of the American Meat Institute. In reply to our inquiries regarding the cause of the dangerous situation which we have outlined, Mr. Seiler handed us a copy of the enclosed letter which we understand he has forwarded to the appropriate officials of our Government and others.

It must be recognized that if retail grocery stores are the ultimate channels of distribution upon which our civilian population must depend for its meat requirements, and if, as we believe them to be, they are an essential and vital part of the meat distributive system of our Nation, then, representing over 8,000 such stores, our State association has a vital interest in the problem presented by Mr. Seiler's letter and a fair and adequate solution thereof. Even if our over 8,000 retail grocers were considered only as consumers of meat and meat products, so large a segment of the population of our State, solely as consumers, would be substantially and rightfully interested in this problem.

But over and beyond these facts, the criticism and the condemnation of the public, where shortages of food supplies exist, are visited by consumers upon the retail grocers with whom they deal. The fault may be, and in most instances is, further back in the distributive line, often originating with production, but the minds of average consumers, as far as our distributive system is concerned, do not go beyond the retail counter, and hence retail grocers are held accountable for

any failure of our distributive system to function in accordance with consumers' needs and for any degree of maldistribution that may develop.

It is apparent from Mr. Seiler's letter that the entire meat supply for civilian consumption has, as he says, been left completely within the control of the large packers and subject to their whim and desires, notwithstanding the fact that the distributive machinery of these channels has never been and is not now geared in a manner that will permit them to distribute the total supply of meat and meat products.

There seems to be another corollary to this situation. The United States Government, through its Department of Justice, has been engaged in many activities under the antitrust laws to prevent the growth and development of monopoly in food distribution, and now, under claims of wartime necessity, we find that other bureaus and agencies of our Government are prescribing rules and regulations which tend to bring about a monopoly of meat distribution in the hands of a few large packers. We do not believe that the problems confronting food distribution require action so drastic as will result not only in effecting monopolies in food distribution but which will deny to thousands of smaller packers and processors the right to carry on and maintain their business as an essential and vitally necessary part of our food distributive system.

The problem as outlined in Mr. Seiler's letter seems to us to be but another instance of our Government engaging in the destruction of business vital to the contentment, well-being, and morale of our people which, if it proceeds much further, will mean the elimination in our country of the very principles and institutions which our armed forces are supposed to be fighting to preserve. We feel certain that the Members of Congress to whom a copy of this letter is being sent will, in view of their responsibilities to their constituents, be interested in the destruction of local industry and distributive business enterprises which will doubtless ensue as a result of the manner in which the meat supply of our country is being handled under the Office of Price Administration Restriction Order No. 1.

If the nonslaughtering processors and wholesalers of meat were not so many in number (42 percent of all the people engaged in the meat business in this country), and if it were not for the fact that they handle approximately 39 percent of the total tonnage, the usual claim that is advanced by the Office of Price Administration that they must expect to put out of business under present conditions, might be anticipated, but when so large and so essential and so necessary a segment of the meat distributive machinery of our country is placed in jeopardy and consequently a situation is created which strikes at the very heart of our democracy and which, we are sure, will be protested against not only by those who are being forced out of business but by the consuming public as well, it constitutes a condition which we cannot conceive will be tolerated by our representatives in Congress. In our opinion, the great problem of supplying food to our civilian population cannot be solved by breaking down or destroying the distributive machinery upon which our citizens must depend.

From previous conferences on similar matters, we feel we can predict the statements that will be made by various governmental agencies. It goes something like this: "Well, if these restrictions result in putting inefficient merchants out of business, so much the better for the efficient operators." Of course, this statement is based upon the theory that it is the inefficient merchants who will be put out of business, but after quite a great deal of thought and consideration it is our opinion, and we find it is the opinion of many

others, that orders such as this will not put the smaller-type inefficient merchants out of business. In the language of our trade, they will arrange for Mom to conduct the store while Pop goes to work in a war industry and makes more money than he ever did in his business.

It is the class of merchant who has a real investment in his business, who performs a real distributive service to his community, but who is unable to decrease or unload any of the usual fixed charges incident to the conduct of his business, which fixed charges, by the way, are increasing instead of decreasing, who will be put out of business by regulations most of which are largely experimental and are not in consonance with either factual or practical conditions. The elimination of the character of stores which orders of this kind will destroy cannot be viewed solely as a loss to the proprietor as an individual but rather, in each instance, as depriving the community of a vital service upon which the community must depend and as decreasing the effective distribution of essential food to our civilian population.

Therefore, representing over 8,000 individual retail merchants, all of whom will ultimately be affected by the present manner in which the meat distributive situation is being handled by the Office of Price Administration, the Pennsylvania Grocers' Association desires hereby to protest in the most emphatic terms against a continuation of Office of Price Administration Restriction Order No. 1, and to demand that it be forthwith revised and amended in a manner which will enable local nonslaughtering processors and wholesalers to obtain their quota of meat in the proper ratio to the percentage allowed slaughterers in order that our member stores and the consumers who deal with them may obtain an equitable supply of meat through the only distributive channels that can adequately supply them—namely, local meat processors and wholesalers.

Respectfully yours,

CHARLES H. VON TAGEN,

Secretary and Director of Organization.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, the result of the regulations and the meat-restriction order is unbridled and unabated chaos. Prior to the issuance of the O. P. A. measures in question, meat was available for all. However, little or no meat has since been available, except at prices beyond the reach of the poor, and even of the middle class. Prior to the adoption of the measures under discussion, the slaughtering and distribution of meat was orderly and efficient. A black market has been born since, which, for lawlessness and danger to the health and welfare of the people of the Nation, promises to overshadow the evils of the prohibition era. At this very moment not only do we have sky-high bootleg meat prices, but a serious sanitation problem as well. Cattle are being slaughtered clandestinely; that means without Government inspection. Some of the cattle so slaughtered may carry tubercular and other deadly germs that are a danger to the civilian population. Meat is being dressed in bootleg establishments with equally dangerous possibilities to the health of our people. Millions of pounds of meat are being wasted by employees of these plants who are untrained and unfamiliar with the technique of meat-cutting. "Hijacking" and other criminal activities reminiscent of the prohibition era are reported prevalent, and probably are, because whenever there is demand among humans for a commodity—especially a vital commod-

ity—and when the Government undertakes to regulate the supply downward to make it more difficult of procurement, illicit supply agencies are the inevitable result.

What is the answer to it all? I have it before me. Both O. P. A. and Agriculture have had it before them for several months. Primarily, it is to restore the distributive channels to status quo. Place the meat in the hands of members of the industry who know how to get it to the armed forces, to lend-lease, and to the civilian population promptly and effectively. They were doing it before the O. P. A. measures which have clogged distributive channels; they can still do it. How can this be accomplished? The answer is—equitable allocation.

I am told that at least 2 months ago the National Association of Non-Slaughtering Meat Processors and Wholesalers, through its Washington representatives, submitted to O. P. A. and to the Department of Agriculture a plan for "allocation" of the existing and available meat supply. The plan was worked out carefully by members and counsel, at an association meeting. It contemplates, so far as the nonslaughtering group is concerned, an equitable supply of available meat, based upon their 1941 purchases from the packers. In other words, instead of having all the available supply under his complete control, the large processing packer would be compelled to honor requests from nonslaughtering processors and wholesalers for the same percentage of each type of controlled meat delivered to them during each base period within which the packer is entitled to kill under his permitted civilian allotment.

I am informed that this plan has been gathering dust in O. P. A. and the Department of Agriculture files for the past 2 months, though pronounced the best solution of the problem yet presented, in off-the-record statements by officials at Agriculture. I wish to present it here in detail, and seek thereby to secure from O. P. A. and the Department of Agriculture a definite and complete statement explaining why this plan has not been adopted.

I ask unanimous consent to have the plan printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the plan was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Every nonslaughtering processor and wholesaler shall prepare for each slaughterer or nonquota slaughterer a statement of all controlled meat delivered to him by such slaughterer or nonquota slaughterer during each base period in 1941 in deliveries of more than 1,000 pounds each. Such statement shall list the deliveries chronologically according to invoice date and shall show with respect to each delivery the following:

1. The date and number of the invoice accompanying such delivery;
2. A description of the controlled meat;
3. The location of the plant or branch house from which such meat was delivered; and
4. The location of the processor's or wholesaler's plant.

Such statement shall be prepared in four parts. Parts 1, 2, 3, and 4 shall each include deliveries made during each respective base period.

On or before January 2, 1942, every nonslaughtering processor and wholesaler shall send by registered mail, return receipt requested, the original of part 1 of each statement to the slaughterer or nonquota slaughterer who made the deliveries described therein. On or before March 1, 1943, every such processor and wholesaler shall send by registered mail, return receipt requested, the original of parts 2, 3, and 4 of each statement to the slaughterer or nonquota slaughterer who made the deliveries described therein.

Every nonslaughtering processor and wholesaler shall attach to a duplicate of each statement sent by him the return receipt for the original of such statement, and shall file parts 1, 2, 3, and 4 of all such duplicate statements with the Office of Price Administration.

Within 5 days after receipt of any statement from such processor or wholesaler, a slaughterer or nonquota slaughterer may send to such processor or wholesaler by registered mail, return receipt requested, a demand for a written statement correcting any existing inaccuracy.

If a slaughterer or nonquota slaughterer shall fail, refuse, neglect, or be unable to deliver to such processor or wholesaler his allotment of controlled meat, then such slaughterer shall:

At least 10 days before the commencement of each quota period notify such processor or wholesaler of his inability or intention not to deliver said controlled meat. Such slaughterer shall immediately mail by registered mail, return receipt requested, to such processor or wholesaler a certificate showing the amount of controlled meat that such processor or wholesaler is entitled to receive from any other slaughterer or slaughterers. The amount of controlled meat stated in the certificate shall be deducted from such slaughterer's quota. Any slaughterer or nonquota slaughterer may sell and deliver controlled meat upon presentation of said allotment certificate for endorsement or surrender. Said sale and delivery shall be considered quota exempt.

Mr. DAVIS. Mr. President, I feel it is important at this point to cite a few of the reasons given to date by O. P. A. officials for failure, or refusal, which is a better word, to adopt the plan.

Mr. John Madigan, who is one of the chiefs of the Rationing Division at O. P. A., is reported to have stated:

My legal division advises that it would take them 6 months to work it out.

The answer to a statement of that character is simple. If I had a legal division that was incapable of working out a remedial measure at a moment when time was of the essence I should lose no time in dismissing it. I cannot visualize any sane businessman who would accept that sort of an answer from an attorney. In that connection, it seems that sitting up a few nights on a matter of vital interest to all concerned in the war effort would be no more arduous for the legal luminaries at O. P. A. than a week or more of sleepless nights on some battle front.

Another objection voiced by a spokesman for O. P. A. is that the plan presents "too great an administrative problem." Too great an administrative problem if it will accomplish the very thing that the O. P. A. meat restriction order was designed to accomplish—insure an equitable supply of available meat for the armed forces, for lend-lease, and for the civilian population? Too great an ad-

ministrative problem if it will eliminate the black market which promises to cost the Government millions of dollars for investigations. Is it better to accept a workable immediate solution of a most serious national problem or to flounder around in administrative uncertainty while people are undergoing unnecessary privation, while long-established business houses are folding up by the score, and while the entire meat industry, with its potentially vast distributive facilities, rapidly is approaching a state of complete confusion and disorganization? Up to this time O. P. A. apparently prefers the latter. It prefers to flounder, and that, I submit, is the personification of bureaucracy running wild, which I trust Prentiss Brown will correct.

In his testimony before the Patman small business committee on February 17 last, Mr. David Ginsburg, general counsel of O. P. A., made reference to another suggested solution by another witness, and appeared to endorse the suggested solution. Mr. Ginsburg said:

I saw in Mr. LaRoe's statement yesterday—

Mr. LaRoe is the representative of the independent packers—

one suggestion which he made and which I had not seen before. It struck me that it might be possible to do in this country what has been done, as I understand it, in Britain. That is, the cattle should be purchased by the Government from the farmer and then distributed through normal channels of trade. This would enable the Government, through its differential price on its sale and procurement, to provide the necessary leeway and stability.

Chairman PATMAN asked:

That would stop the black markets, would it not? It would have a tendency to do so?

Mr. Ginsburg replied:

I think that is true. I am just talking now as one who has seen the suggestion for the first time.

There you have a solution—suggested and endorsed by the general counsel of O. P. A. It seems practical and workable. I can anticipate objection to it from only one source in the industry—the big packer. Why? Because it will pry him loose from his present hold on the available meat supply. The Government—very likely the Department of Agriculture—would take over, and would see to it that the animals for slaughter sold to the packer by the Government would go to him with a string attached—namely, the condition that the meat would have to be allocated by the packers to normal markets. The men at the Department of Agriculture who deal with meat are career men. They have been in contact with the industry for years. Most of them are practical men, not theorists. Their approaches to meat problems are practical, not academic, because they know the industry and are familiar with all its ramifications.

Another solution, another means for equalizing the meat picture, is possible. This solution rests squarely and unequivocally with the Rationing Division of O. P. A.—Mr. Madigan's division. Regulations concerned with the rationing of meat now are in the process of prepara-

tion. Directing this big and important job, I am informed, is a young law school graduate whose practical experience in the meat industry consists of some 8 months or so with the legal staff of one of the four big packers. Why is it that representatives of the packers play such an important role in all the meat activities at O. P. A.? A packer representative either has written, is writing, or is administering all the regulations concerned with the industry. I have made diligent inquiry, but thus far have been unable to find one nonslaughtering processor or wholesaler in the entire meat set-up at O. P. A. I do know of an experienced wholesaler—a man who operated an establishment of his own for many years—who thought he could be of service in the preparation of the existing meat regulations, and accordingly made written application for a position in the Meat Division. His application was rejected.

But to return to the meat-rationing regulations now in process of preparation, let me say, incidentally, that O. P. A. has stated time and again that consumer rationing will be the remedy for existing ills. I find, however, that the regulations, as now being written, will leave nonslaughtering processors and wholesalers in the same plight in which they now find themselves. To illustrate: The packer will be left in control of the meat supply, as under present conditions. A nonslaughtering processor or wholesaler may have coupons; but what steps are being taken by O. P. A. to insure against having the packer state, when such coupons are presented, that his supply of meats is exhausted? What will prevent the packer from using his supply entirely for his own processing plants and wholesale branch houses. Will a retailer take coupons to a nonslaughtering processor or wholesaler; will the retailer deal with such houses when he knows that the packer has all the meat and can very easily penalize him for trading with a competitor?

O. P. A. has the power and the authority to prevent all such things. It can, if it so desires, accord protection to the nonslaughtering processor and wholesaler. But will it? Will Mr. Madigan, who seems to be the supreme arbiter in the Rationing Division of O. P. A., see to it that that important segment of the meat industry is restored to its rightful place in the industry? I shall be profoundly interested in the imminent consumer-rationing regulations for meat, and I shall be especially interested in observing what will be done about the nonslaughtering processor and wholesaler. If some definite and adequate provision is not made to make meat available to them, I intend to refer the matter to the Small Business Committee of the Senate, and request them to make an investigation of the conditions and circumstances involved in the preparation of the regulations.

Back in 1933, the present majority political party—the Democratic Party—came into power as the friend, champion, and protector of the little fellow in business and elsewhere. It told the electorate that we of the Republican Party were the

big, bad wolves of business who sought to gobble up the little fellow, that we were ruthless vested interests, predatory interests, economic royalists, Tories, and what not. They said that they would give unwavering and eternal devotion to the hitherto "forgotten man," that there would be a new deal. While the Democrats were in the saddle, said they, no more could the little fellow be pushed around.

Let me now humbly and respectfully inquire what is happening to the little fellow—and at the hands of an agency that functions under the blessing of the New Deal. Ask the thousands of small businessmen—the meat processors and wholesalers and countless others. Who, I ask, has forgotten the forgotten man?

PROHIBITION OF MAILING OF PROPAGANDA DISSEMINATED BY AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, earlier today I introduced a bill intended to prohibit the mailing of propaganda disseminated by agents of foreign principals unless the source of such propaganda is identified.

On June 27, 1941, I introduced a similar measure. At that time we were not at war, and it seemed desirable to provide a means of identifying propaganda so that we could properly evaluate any material distributed to the American public by the agents of any foreign principals.

At the present time, the objectives of identifying all foreign propaganda still appear to be desirable in view of the fact that already we are thinking in terms of an eventual peace and a post-war period.

I do not want the measure I introduced to be misinterpreted as implying a suspicion of any of our allies or of any of the neutral countries from whom we may receive information which is distributed to the American public. The purpose of the measure is merely to enable the American public to identify any material which is distributed in this country in an effort to influence our thinking with respect to the peace or the post-war period.

At every crossroads store in America, people are gathering together to talk about the questions which will have to be answered when peace comes, and during the period which will follow the coming of peace. All over the land women's clubs, discussion groups, and service organizations, including a great many church groups, are discussing these matters in their meetings. These groups naturally utilize any and all information which they can secure, and consider any and all proposals which have been made. Undoubtedly some of the material originates with agents of foreign principals. Those principals may be allies of ours, and it may be that our own best interests are common to the same interests which they represent.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that we should be able to identify any proposals which may be made by the agent of any foreign principal so that we can evaluate them properly.

Furthermore I want to see our thinking clarified in respect to any material which relates to the conduct of the war.

If any such material is being distributed in this country, we should know its source. Of course, such identification will be even more vital with reference to material relating to the peace or to the post-war period.

FIGHTING MEN OR FOOD?

Mr. NYE. Mr. President, I hesitate to interrupt consideration of the pending bill, but I feel that in speaking for a few minutes I shall be devoting my remarks to a subject constituting a challenge with which Congress must deal at the present time—a challenge so serious that there must be no discounting of the facts contributing to it. In meeting it every one of us will, first of all, direct his energies in a way that will contribute most largely to our ultimate success in the present war emergency.

Many of those who, when our military leadership asked for a military establishment of 11,000,000 men, felt that there would be no serious question of our ability to properly back up a force of that size, are going to wake up with a start when they are confronted with certain facts which have been developed. There has been, for instance, a general impression that all our authorities including the Secretary of Agriculture, were convinced that we would be able to supply the food required by the military plans for 1943. But Secretary Wickard has very recently made it clear that the possibility is great that we shall not be able to produce the food requirement originally contemplated for this year.

LESS PRODUCTION OF FOOD

On Tuesday of this week I asked Secretary Wickard this question:

Is there the slightest prospect of our ability to get the same acreage into production this spring that we had last spring?

The Secretary's response was:

It doesn't look very good now.

Again I asked him:

Wouldn't we be honest with ourselves and everybody else if we admitted right now that we cannot increase last year's acreage?

Secretary Wickard responded:

The prospects are we cannot; that is right.

I pursued the question a bit further, and suggested that unless the Lord was as good to us as he was last year when he gave us the most bountiful production of all time, we would have a lesser yield than last year.

Mr. Wickard said in response to my statement: "That is right."

RAG-DOLL STRATEGY

Fighting men, or food? That, Mr. President, is without a rival as the No. 1 challenge confronting this Congress today. The American people, "filled up" from day to day with contradictions concerning our ability to produce, are expecting us to meet that challenge head-on and without compromise. It will not be a sufficient excuse to these people, for us as legislators to say that so long as the Commander in Chief and his military staff in this hour of extreme emergency asked for an establishment of 11,000,000 men in our Army and Navy, we must give that number of men without regard

to the dire consequences which we fear might necessarily follow. I have too much regard for the American people to believe that they would tolerate thinking and acting of that kind, and if we were to conduct ourselves in that manner, the American people would be quite justified in saying to us all, "Come home and stay home. Washington is no place for rag dolls at a time like this."

DEFEATING OUR FIRST PURPOSE

Mr. President, I have the utmost respect for those in command in this hour. To General Marshall and all the others on down the military line I will give my complete confidence and support in their conduct of the task which has been assigned to them. Under circumstances resembling reasonableness were those in command to ask for a Military Establishment of 11,000,000 men I would give them every help and appropriation they asked in order to attain the strength they desire. But when I stand, as I now stand, in gravest doubt concerning our ability to back up such a force with the necessary complements of food, of machines, and of ships, and when that doubt is multiplied by reason of the apparent doubts of some of the military leaders themselves, I cannot find it in me to do other than rebel, and so to direct my effort as to prevent what occurs to me to be a policy which is likely in large measure to bring catastrophe to us, when what we seek and work for is victory and success.

SIXTY-FIVE MILLION "ESSENTIALS"

It is possible, of course, that even yet someone shall come this way and disprove what so many witnesses, including high military authorities, Manpower Commissioner McNutt, Secretary of Agriculture Wickard, and others have stated to us as a fact, that a military force of 11,000,000 men requires a total of approximately 65,000,000 workers in the Military Establishment, in munitions plants, shipyards, on the farms, and in industries considered essential to the prosecution of the war. This figure alone should cause every one of us to stop and ponder our ability to do the job which has been outlined.

WHO ARE AND ARE NOT "ESSENTIAL"

In the 48 States our total population over 15 years of age is only 100,000,000. This 100,000,000 total includes men and women, boys 15 years of age, men 70, 80, and 90 years old. It includes girls of 15, and women 80 and 90. It includes the population confined in our jails, our hospitals, our asylums, the boys and girls in school, the women who make homes for husbands and families, whether they reside in cities, towns or on the farms, the ill, the halt, the blind, the invalids—100,000,000 includes all of us in the United States over 15 years of age. Those in command in this emergency are now demanding that out of these 100,000,000 people we provide 65,000,000 for the Army, the Navy, and the industries considered "essential" to the conduct of the war.

I am afraid that not too many people stop to ponder what this demand means. Let it be noted, and noted carefully, that

these 65,000,000 counted as "essential" do not include people in civilian life engaged in such occupations as that of the community doctor, his helpers, the banker and his clerks, the dry-goods merchant and his staff, the harness maker, the milliner, the lawyer, the confectioner, the baker, the hardware merchant, the schoolteacher, the newspaper publisher and his printers, the cream buyer, the junk dealer, the hide buyer, the street and highway maintenance men, the creamery operator and his helpers, the dray and livery man, the grain dealer, the elevator operator, the cheesemaker, the butcher, the barber, the grocer and his clerks, the hotel proprietor and his help, the filling station operator, the blacksmith, the machinery or farm implement dealer or repairman, the clothing merchant, the fuel dealer, the lumber dealer, the cattle buyer and shipper, the operator of community water and sewer systems, the well driller, the garage owner and his staff of repairmen, the undertaker, the grave-digger, the druggist, the dentist, the watch repairer or jewelry man. None of these, mind you, Mr. President, is counted as essential or as among the 65,000,000 whom the 1943 plan calls for in the way of manpower. It counts none of these as essential, however essential they may appear to be to the life of every community in our land. Men in such occupations and the wives who maintain their homes are not counted among the 65,000,000 essential people, I repeat, by those who are demanding a war program calling for 65,000,000 workers in the war industries.

MOVE WHOLE POPULATIONS

If every Senator would let his mind's eye run through the establishments in his own home community that make up the population of the community he would have difficulty in finding any one of them who is counted as essential in this present undertaking to afford an essential manpower force of 65,000,000 people out of our total population of those who are over 15 years of age.

Obviously if we are going to afford the 65,000,000 essential workers we shall have to move in a large degree the whole non-rural populations of States such as my own, where little or no war industry exists, a condition which prevails in all the States which are devoted largely to agricultural pursuits, excepting of course that there could be no undertaking to place in essential industry the aged, the blind, the ill, and the mothers and housewives who could not possibly devote themselves to additional cares beyond those which are already theirs.

BLIND TO POSITIVE LIMITATIONS

Mr. President, the plan to build a military order that calls for 65,000,000 workers in the so-called essential industries alone, when our total population over 15 years of age, including men and women alike, numbers but 100,000,000, is to blind ourselves to the very emphatic limitations which are upon our country of 130,000,000 people.

After all, there are limitations upon us. We can stretch our production capabilities just so far; we can get just

so much efficiency out of anybody or any machine. This is a regrettable thing in an hour such as this. Indeed, it would be comparatively simple to conduct this war if only there were no population or other limitations upon us. Then we could make our war manpower what we would. But, unfortunately, the limitations still are upon us and we are forced to realize that declaring the conditions to prevail in the conduct of a war, is not nearly so easy as declaring war.

FOOD LIMITATION IS REAL

There are upon us limitations as real as conditions can be real. I rise to plead with the Senate today to recognize these limitations, however much we may want to stretch available power and ability, to make power and ability do the job which is given our Nation to do most quickly and most successfully.

For the moment I pass over the subject of the very real limitations which are upon us in shipping supplies across the seas, in getting men and supplies into the foreign theaters of war. For the moment I ignore the limitations upon our manufacture of machines and supplies for which the war is calling. For this moment I want to confine myself to the subject of that very positive limitation which is upon us in the matter of food production, a production line which is as important as any front line in any military engagement. This I say without in the least bit discounting the wonderfully courageous work which is being done in those military engagements to the east and to the west by our own American boys, and the sons of our Allied Nations.

EXPECTING THE IMPOSSIBLE FROM FARMERS

There was never a greater requirement upon America for food production than there is this year. Testimony before congressional committees reveals that the military strategy of this year is calling for more food in 1943 than we produced in 1942. With the fact recognized that 1942 was the most bountiful year of food production our Nation has ever known, authorities have been most assuring about the possibilities of larger production. It has been planned that we could produce more this year than we did last year with the same number of workers on the farms of America, even though many of these workers in 1943 would be far less efficient than the hands that were available in 1942. I have been impressed by the tremendous gamble that has been involved in this 1943 strategy. It is a gamble with threatened hunger and even thin supply lines of food to our men and to our allies.

Authorities to whom we must look for authentic advice have told us that farm machinery cannot possibly be made available to the farms this year in any such amount as was available last year. But the same authorities say that we "must and will" do the farm production job in a bigger way than ever before. Again the element of human limitations is quite completely frowned upon.

The same authorities tell us that a military set-up of 11,000,000 men is going

to require the calling of virtually every physically fit man in the country between the ages of 18 and 38, including men on the farms and men in essential industries. That means that every farm hand within those age limits, every physically fit man, will be called into the military ranks and must be replaced in his farm job by one of less efficiency. Obviously there will be those with no knowledge whatsoever of farming received in substitution of the efficient men who go to the front. Upon this inefficient sort of manpower have the authorities placed the responsibility of producing more food this year than was produced in 1942, our banner year.

FACE EMBARRASSING FACTS NOW

It has all presented a rather preposterous picture—this determination that a job could be done when vital facts were being completely ignored. Sometimes facts are embarrassing. Realism, too, is embarrassing, especially so after a departure from it. But I much prefer to be embarrassed by facts now and to deal with those facts than to deal with the humiliating embarrassment which with continued ignoring of facts seems certain to follow if we go on just hoping and trusting that things are not as they seem to be. The spirit of "we must, we can, we will" is "swell stuff" in its place, but we happen to be in a dangerous quarter on this food challenge; we are dealing with an element that just is not going to respond to the good old "Rah, Rah, Rah" school-day, Boy Scout spirit. Unfortunately, this seems to have been the spirit moving many who were contributing to the strategy of 1943.

Here was Vice Admiral William A. Glassford, head of the United States mission in Dakar, quoted in an Associated Press dispatch from London under date of January 8 as asserting that "the American forces in Algeria are nothing but the beginning—nothing but a symbol. At present we have 5,000,000 men, but eventually we can have fifteen to twenty millions, and we can send them whenever the necessity arises." Such utter childishness as this has not place in our planning for the task ahead of us. And it does not fool the enemy. Yet there is much of the very same kind of blindness to first things in a great deal of the global thinking in high and responsible circles.

Senators, look to the facts. They will hurt a whole lot less now than they will hurt if we go on ignoring them. Continued ignoring of the facts and pursuing a policy that just blindly hopes that what we see is not true will destroy the very thing for which our sons fight and for which we, every one of us, labors—the safety and salvation of America.

HUNGER AND FOOD RIOTS

To permit the full program in outline for 1943, with its 65,000,000 manpower requirement in essential quarters, to be consummated is to deny our allies all the help they need on the machinery and food fronts, and means bringing hunger and food riots to our own country, unless our God lets two or three blades grow

where only one has grown before, under circumstances which find the agriculturist less prepared to aid in production than has been true in the past.

FOOD RATIONING AFTER MOST BOUNTIFUL PRODUCTION

Who dares longer ignore the fact that last year brought to America the greatest harvest of all time? The weather was right, the rains came when they would do the most good, American farmers gave their best effort, yet could not harvest and save all that grew. These farmers enjoyed skilled help last year in far greater measure than they can hope to have it this year. Yet, with all these blessings combined in 1942, what do we find to be the result today? First, we do not begin to have enough food to avoid a rationing program for our own people, a program more severe by far than those people yet realize. Second, there is want in our military training camps for some of the foods that build brain, brawn, and morale—want because there has not been enough to go round. Third, we are not furnishing our allies with such food help as they seem to have been given cause to feel we had committed ourselves to furnish. All this, mind you, after the most plentiful year of production in all American history.

And now our leaders propose that American farmers increase production this year over last year by at least 8 percent. This increase must be accomplished under far less favorable growing conditions, with far less skilled help than prevailed last year, with less machinery, and with existing machinery in a much poorer state of repair, and with discouragements slowing the farmer in no uncertain way.

MUCH LATE AND HURRIED PLANTING

What I mean is just this: First, with respect to growing conditions, we already know that the odds are against early planting this spring. The shortage of help last fall and the rush to get the bountiful crop harvested did not permit of the usual amount of fall plowing that would be ready for early working and planting this spring. This is bound to mean reduced acres of planting and it is bound to mean reckless preparation of ground by farmers in their endeavor to get in as much as they can. I presume there will be much grain drilled into the stubble, and we all know that, generally speaking, this means greatly reduced harvests in the fall. In the Northwest a great deal of agricultural success depends upon getting seed into the ground early, to the end that it can have the benefit of the spring moisture. Definitely that condition is not going to prevail this spring with regard to thousands of acres that have not been made ready in the usual way by fall plowing.

KEEN SHORTAGE OF FARM HELP

Second, I need not speak here of the terrific shortage of farm help that is prevalent. It is a shortage far more acute than was that which confronted the farmer last year, and that was bad enough, particularly in the fall. Many of the farm hands of last year are now

in the Army and in the Navy. Others have been prevailed upon to go into defense industries, where most lucrative pay was to be had, but where men were made to feel they could do a worth-while thing for the cause in this hour. The United States Employment Bureau is still recruiting men for industry in the rural areas.

Just how many thousands less of farm hands there will be to undertake the farm work this spring than were available last spring remains a question that cannot be accurately determined for another month. But we know that the loss of manpower on the farms during the past 12 months has been terrific. The shortage of help last fall was sufficient to make the farmer's task of harvesting most discouraging, and in that hour of discouragement many of them vowed that they just would not and could not another year plant more than they knew they and their immediate families could take care of through the year and then harvest.

However much a farmer desires to make the fullest possible contribution in this hour, these human limitations are definitely upon him. It gives him some encouragement, though it is rather limited, to know that the high-school boys and girls will be drafted to help him, because he has used that kind of help before. It means little to the farmer to be told that there will be 50,000 Mexican farm laborers brought in, for he realizes that they will not even be enough to take care of labor shortages in southern California, southern Arizona and southern New Mexico. He appreciates knowing that there will be available to him, when harvest time arrives, the business people and the clerks engaged by business in the community in which he resides. But he has had his experiences with this outlook before, and he knows how definite are the limitations. This shortage of efficient help, or the lack of any help at all, is bound to result in a short planting this spring. About that there can be no mistake.

MACHINERY SHORTAGE ACCUTE

Then there is the machinery shortage moving so definitely against normal production this year. Last year the machinery problem was a serious challenge. Repairs were difficult to obtain by reason of shortages and priorities. I doubt that the situation is improved materially this year. Many people write me of utter inability to get some of their machinery back in repair, stating that they have used it to the last possible turn of the wheel, and new machinery is not to be had in any such quantity as is desperately needed. Some steps have been taken to make more machinery available, but, obviously, that is going to be slow in delivery, and much of it cannot possibly be made to reach the farmer before he needs it for his spring operation.

FARM PRICES AND COSTS

Another thing that is slowing up the prospect of large production in 1943 is the need for adequate farm prices. Prices last year were satisfactory only because there was such bountiful production. Unit costs were low because of

the large production, and the farmer did very well with prices as they were. But when he had finished with his harvest and paid the costs of harvesting, he found himself quite frequently up against the obligation to meet burdens of debt which had been accumulating through past years, meeting accumulated taxes which he had not been able to pay through the hard years, and then having to pay an income tax without regard or respect for the fact that his income had gone to the payment of debt. It was not a happy experience. The farmer is left gambling so largely this year with respect to ability to produce that his unit costs will again be low, and permit prevalent prices to bring him a profitable return.

FARMERS GO OUT OF BUSINESS

All these things are contributing no end of obstacles to the prospect of large agricultural production this year. Yet authorities, those who plan our 1943 strategy, are counting on larger agricultural production this year than last year. Mr. President, there is not a community in agricultural America that is not showing definite reasons why we cannot anticipate this larger production. Last fall witnessed more farm sales than has been true in our farm States in any other year. The farmers, coping with these insurmountable problems which the day is affording, very frequently took advantage of a good market and sold their farm machinery and their livestock, and moved off the farm. Good prices were available at the auction sales which were held in greater numbers than ever before known. Farmers who were short of machinery found in these auction sales their opportunity to buy old and second-hand machinery, and premium prices were paid. The sales at these auctions were not made to new farmers who will be following up in the production field this year. They were made instead to existing farmers who will be cultivating no more ground this year than they cultivated last year, if as much. The farms from which this livestock and this machinery was sold will very often stand idle.

FORCED TO CUT ACREAGE

A young man was in my office only a week or two ago, returning to his marine base after a brief furlough which had permitted him to return home to the farm where he had labored last year. He told me how he and his father had last year operated two quarter-sections of land and made it produce abundantly. When asked about the help his father was able to get to take this boy's place he told me that he had not been able to get any help, and that he was simply abandoning one quarter-section of the land from operation this year and would do the job on the remaining quarter as best he could. How many instances of this kind there are we will have to wait to know, but there are undoubtedly many.

DAIRY AND POULTRY FARMERS QUIT

Community after community bears testimony concerning the lesser farm undertaking that will prevail this spring than was true last year by reason of the

abandonments of farm operations by men who could not carry on without the help they previously had.

Mr. President, I could portray the situation in endless communities, but here before me is a splendid sample from the largest county in my State. I have a letter from a man who is well conversant with the facts. He is C. C. Wattam, a member of a very prominent law firm in Fargo, Cass County, N. Dak. He is also secretary of the North Dakota Bankers' Association. He writes me as to what has happened in his community. Among other things he says:

During the past year, we have had 3 dairies go out of business and a fourth is rapidly closing out its business. They are Meyer Dairy, Alford Dairy, Acme Dairy and Morgan's Dairy. In addition to that Gus Lemke, a farmer south of town, has advised me that he and 5 or 6 other farmers of whom he knows who have been selling milk in town quit owing to the shortage of help.

I am also advised that Ernest Lakey, a veteran of the First World War, whose son was recently drafted, is going out of the turkey business. He marketed 23,000 No. 1 turkeys this year for approximately \$9,000.

Gilbert N. Hagen, who farmed 4 sections of land near Ayr, has had an auction sale this fall and states he cannot continue on account of the inability to get farm labor.

A client of mine at Page, whose name I am not at liberty to mention by reason of the fact this business has not as yet been closed up, is working on a proposition to dispose of 190 cattle and go out of the cattle business for the same reason.

The same situation holds true all over North Dakota and I believe if you think it important enough, hundreds of specific instances such as those mentioned above can be furnished.

Mr. President, that is only a rough approximation of the conditions prevalent in one lone agricultural community.

NO HARVEST WORRIES—SPRING PLANTING IS SHORT

It is certainly too late now to avoid food shortages this year if we persist with 1943 program and strategy which has been laid down. Remedy in the labor field and remedy in the machinery field cannot possibly come fast enough to enter into the spring-planting work. It is not a harvest problem that we need to worry about right now. Instead it is a planting problem, and without plantings there are going to be no harvests. In my mind there is only one remedy available to us now, and that is the slowing up of the programs that are going to require a greater food obligation from fewer producers. No one likes to do this. I certainly do not relish the thought of standing in the way of fulfillment and pursuit of the strategy which our military leaders have charted, but heaven help us, shall we move blindly into these programs knowing that we are marching straight to catastrophe?

CARELESS, THOUGHTLESS STRATEGY

I hardly trust myself to speak of the responsibility for this nightmare which blind planning has brought to us. Obviously those who plan the strategy of this war have had worse than bad advice concerning American ability to supply the food requirements called for by the strategy. What earthly good is strategy

even though it be backed with twice as many men in arms as are actually needed, even though it be backed by thrice as many machines of war as the strategists declare need for. What earthly use is strategy if there is not food and plenty of food, first, for the men who are to make use of the guns, planes, tanks, and ships, and, second, to provide adequately for those who must maintain these production lines? A policy of no strategy at all, such as prevailed at Pearl Harbor, where twice as many men and 10 times as many ships, planes, tanks, and guns, would only have meant twice and 10 times the loss we actually suffered there. A policy of no strategy at all is better and far safer than strategy not amply backed by food, to keep the armies going and to keep the health, strength and morale of those back of the lines sufficient for them to carry on producing the things that war calls for as first essentials.

COUNTY AGENTS PREDICT TREMENDOUS REDUCTION

I repeat that those who plan the strategy of the war have had worse than bad advice on the subject of food supply. Seemingly the war leaders have counted as sure the ability of the country to meet the food goals fixed by the Department of Agriculture for 1943, goals calling for 8 percent more of production than in that banner year of 1942. Authorities somewhere have given these war leaders reason to believe that possible. They have assured committees of Congress that the goals could be attained in spite of adverse circumstances to which I, and others, have referred. But it is now rather clear that the assurances given are not substantiated by those authorities best able to measure the possibilities of 1943 production.

None are closer to production possibilities than the county agents—one in each county of the 48 States—men who are close to the farm prospect, who measure it, and know its factors. The subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, which has been dealing with the manpower subject under the leadership of the Senator from Alabama [Mr. BANKHEAD], chose to inquire of these county agents concerning prospects for 1943. Their response in answer to questionnaires submitted has been summarized and compiled by the Department of Agriculture itself, and the answers appear, starting at page 384 of the hearings by the committee. The study has brought to the surface frightfully disturbing facts—facts which cannot be discounted, facts which we must not ignore. In a word, these county agents, over 2,700 in number, have asserted that there would be a most positive reduction in agricultural acreage this spring, and, of course, a reduction in production as well.

Twenty-one percent of these county agents have estimated that acreage reduction would be from 1 to 10 percent below last year. Twenty-eight percent of these county agents have declared that the reduced acreage would be somewhere between 10 and 19 percent. Eleven per-

cent have declared their belief that the reduction would be from 20 to 29 percent. Four percent of the county agents reporting estimated that acreage would be reduced by more than 30 percent. This then gives us 65 percent of all the county agents reporting, estimating reduced plantings this spring of from 1 to more than 30 percent.

Even more startling than this are the estimates of these agents concerning production this year. Five percent of the agents estimate a reduction in production of more than 30 percent. Fourteen percent of the agents say that the reduction will be somewhere between 21 and 30 percent. Thirty percent of the agents are estimating that the reduction in production will be somewhere between 11 and 20 percent. Thirty-one percent of the agents estimate a reduction in production of something less than 10 percent. This means, then, that a total of 80 percent of all the county agents estimate some cut in 1943 production, a cut running to even more than 30 percent.

LAW OF AVERAGES MUST BE CONSIDERED

Mr. President, having dealt with these facts it is fair for us to deal for the moment with the law of averages, which plays so large a part in agricultural production. We have no right to hope for a repetition of last year's exceptional growing conditions. In our estimates we shall have to be content with average production. Average production does not begin to approach the returns with which we were blessed last year.

It was all these facts which finally brought Secretary Wickard to our committee with the statement that we shall have a lesser yield this year than we had last year, and with the prediction that we cannot increase last year's acreage and production.

CONGRESS MUST BRING ORDER TO PLANNING

Sad indeed is the day if, with facts what they are, this Congress does not exercise its power to determine the size of the Military Establishment available to the strategists. The responsibility is ours to make that determination. Surely we shall not lay down a determination now so fraught with dangerous possibilities as is the planning to which we have been devoting our thinking and our hand.

When those in command of our Military Establishment seem to be ignoring the facts and limitations to which I have referred, and cause us to wade out to a depth that could mean national suicide, I must ignore—indeed I am in duty bound to ignore—their commands, however good a soldier I wish to be, or however great may be the need for good soldiers on and behind the fighting lines.

COMMANDER MISERABLY ADVISED

I am not inclined to hold the President, our Commander in Chief, responsible. Instead I am inclined to the conclusion that the President has been miserably advised. Whether the advice has come from the Army, the Navy, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce, the Department of

Labor, or from Winston Churchill, does not matter.

DISHONEST WITH OUR MEN

I ask only that Senators be realistic about the definite limitations with which we must deal, and that we cut our war pattern from the cloth with which we have to work. It would be unfair to the 11,000,000 boys we are asked to call to the colors if we could not write a pretty definite guaranty of ability to back up these boys with the first essentials. Did I say it would be unfair? More properly should I have said that we would be dishonest if we did not make sure that we knew what we were doing, or were able to do to back them up. If there be those who feel that the enemy will look upon any changes in our strategy as being an acknowledgment of weakness, let it be noted that the enemy will probably have far greater respect for us if he finds us actually measuring our step and knowing that we can complete our step.

ENGLAND BLUNDERED ON MANPOWER TOO

We have the example of Great Britain to look to in this hour. Britain started out with a strategy that called for more men than she had. After she had drafted them she went into the Army and the Navy and withdrew the men who were necessary in the operation of the mines and the farms so as to enable them to produce sufficiently to back up the military effort. British authorities, like Liddell Hart, have been realistically pointing out that mere numbers count for nothing in modern war, that it is a mistake to try to create a large army rather than a strong army, and that advantage should be taken of opportunities to curtail the size of armies.

Mr. President, I desire to quote very briefly from the most recently published work of Liddell Hart, which is entitled "This Expanding War." In this book Mr. Hart warns as follows:

When even statesmen cling to the habit of enumerating military strength by count of heads, it is hardly surprising that the men in the street, from whom the details of equipment are hidden, should be slow to realize that mere numbers count for nothing in modern war. The total of men under arms is quite meaningless; it conveys no guide to the essential questions—what kind of arms; what is the power of the newer arms; what is the number of units equipped with them—only then can we gauge a country's military strength in terms of modern "power units." And the final question is, What is the spirit and training of the men who are handling these arms?

Again Mr. Hart is found cautioning with the following language:

From 1939 onward we—

Meaning Great Britain, of course—

made the mistake of trying to create a large army rather than a strong army—in the modern sense. We should be in a better position today if we had concentrated our efforts on producing a more fully mechanized army of smaller size, while using much of our manpower that has been turned into infantry to develop, instead, the resources of the civil front—on the security of which the issue fundamentally depends.

I quote once more from Mr. Hart's work:

In the sphere of land warfare, we should take the opportunity to curtail the size of our army—which, although not large enough for a continental campaign, absorbs so large a part of our total resources as to impair war capacity in other fields. At the same time, too small a proportion of the army is composed of fully mechanized forces. They should be developed—not least, as the best counter to any invasion. By contrast, the infantry mass is excessive. Part of the equipment now being produced for infantry divisions that are surplus to our real needs might well be diverted to provide Turkey with the means to become an effective land block in the Near East.

And so on throughout this volume, Mr. President, we find this British authority warning again and again against the notion that our strength is dependent upon the size of our military arms.

More and more I sense that this war will resolve itself into an exhaustion race. We can easily lose this race if we do not carefully measure our step and keep our steps within the limitations which, after all, are imposed upon us.

Recognizing these limitations does not make us pessimists. I am sure that I entertain a fair share of the "we can" and "we will" spirit. I have tried hard to convince myself that the authorities knew what they were doing in their 1943 planning. I have done my best to disprove my own convictions on the theory that maybe I did not know, and to weigh all the factors. But try as I have, I stand doubly convinced today that we are riding to a fall if we do not more carefully weigh our own limitations.

Primarily, Mr. President, in the beginning we thought that our job in this war would be to supply only the arms—not necessarily the men but the arms—for which our allies were crying desperately.

I have just encountered a most interesting article entitled "Produce or Perish," written by C. D. Fawcett, professor of electrical engineering at the University of Pennsylvania. I shall not take the time of the Senate to read any part of the article, but I ask unanimous consent that this enlightening article may appear in the RECORD following my remarks.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the article may be printed in the RECORD.

(See exhibit A.)

PROPOSE COLLECTIVE FARMING

Mr. NYE. Finally, Mr. President, what are our opportunities, our chances to do this food-production job which a Military Establishment of 11,000,000 men will require? I think I have stated my mind in no uncertain terms with respect to the task being an impossible one. But there are authorities who still feel that the job can be done. For example, Col. Lewis Sanders, the efficiency engineer with the Selective Service Board, says, "Consolidate the small farms. Reform American farming from a single farm unit basis to county farm units. Pool and move farm labor. Pool and use farm machinery." This, he says, is the way to do this production job. Whatever there is to be said for this sort of

policy and program, I think it fair to venture that this degree of collectivism will hardly be accomplished in time for the March and April plantings in agricultural America.

FIVE THINGS NECESSARY BY CONGRESS

To me it seems that there are definite things which Congress must do.

First. We must reorganize our military strategy and cut our strategy from the cloth at hand, even though it means possibility of a longer war but surer victory.

Second. Defer from reach by the military or by industry such farm hands as are left on the farm.

Third. So far as we can, bring back from the military training camps the farm hands who are now there.

Fourth. Recognize and honor those farm hands as doing a service quite as important as any other service being performed in the winning of the war. We cannot expect farm boys to stay on the farms if we let them go on dreaming of the day when, with the war ended, those who fought it will be organizing new legions, and when those who worked at home not only will be left out of such organizations but possibly will be looked down upon as boys and men who cowardly sought security against involvement in the war.

Fifth. We must find the way to reward farm labor with higher wages, so that there will be less occasion and less excuse for farm hands to move into industrial fields where higher wages and shorter hours of employment are to be enjoyed.

Those are things which in this hour we can do to our great and lasting advantage.

I am sure that the farmers' desires which will be satisfied by having the Senate take the position which I choose to take are not selfish. The farmer and his sons are eager to win this war. They will do everything within their power to do the job that is given them to do. But there are positive limitations upon them and upon their machines and upon their lands. If there is any degree of selfishness in the representation which I afford, it is purely a selfishness concerning the welfare of our country and the welfare of our fighting sons who in the four quarters of the globe are so ably performing the tremendous task assigned to them.

EXHIBIT A

PRODUCE OR PERISH

(By C. D. Fawcett, professor of electrical engineering, University of Pennsylvania)

At the present time there is definite evidence that the United States can be of the greatest value to the war effort of the United Nations if our country will concentrate on production rather than press for a greater Army or Navy. The following paragraphs present such evidence.

On December 31, 1942, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson issued the following official statement:

"Despite some initial defeats in the year just past, America has now firmly set its feet on the way to victory. . . . Fortunately, our Army—in its equipment, its training, its leadership, and the provisions made for the health and safety of its men—is more powerful with each passing day."

On that same day, December 31, Chinese Lt. Gen. Hsiung Shih-fei and his special mili-

tary mission to secure aid from the United States bade farewell to President Roosevelt after futile efforts to obtain military aid. The Chinese have 11,000,000 trained and hardened soldiers in the field, essentially without equipment. . . . Also, on that same day Gen. Henri Giraud, of the French Colonial Army in Africa, begged for food and fighting equipment for a French army rapidly being built up to 300,000 men. . . .

Continuously during the past year, Premier Joseph Stalin has pleaded for substantial quantities of food, industrial machinery, and military supplies for an estimated 8,000,000 poorly equipped Russian men, of a total of perhaps 12,000,000. . . . On December 31, also, Prime Minister John Curtin of Australia said the "armies of the United Nations in the Pacific Area are being denied resources for their total-war effort." Allied troops and naval forces in Australia and the South Pacific are estimated at about 300,000. . . . It is well known that additional Allied Nations fighting forces in India, Burma, and Africa—totaling probably 350,000—are marking time without military supplies.

The above data, and data in the remainder of this article, are not military secrets, since they have been collected from the public press over the past few months. These figures are changing daily, due to battle casualties and new enlistments. A few million, either added or subtracted, will not change the net conclusions presented later.

A comparison of the facts presented in the above paragraphs leads to the conclusion:

A. Fighting men are now available in ample number and,

B. Production of food, military equipment, and sustained transportation is needed more than military manpower.

Therefore, if the United States should add to its present armed personnel for combat on foreign fronts, our allies would contend that we had failed them in their desperate struggle against carnage and nation-wide destruction. This contention would be justified. They need our food and ammunition now, and deliveries must be continued until the war ends. Ours is the only Nation that has large-scale productive capacity without enemy interference. We must produce and deliver or they will perish by the millions.

Each soldier needs 160 pounds of total supplies each day. One million soldiers need 160,000,000 pounds or 80,000 tons per day, or 29,200,000 tons per year. . . . What is the total allied shipping capacity per year? What tonnage can be delivered, to supply how many millions of soldiers? . . . Total allied merchant marine cargo space (including half of the total new ships to be constructed in 1943) will be approximately 28,000,000 tons. Assuming 2,000 miles to the average delivery point, and estimating nine trips per year per ship, the total maximum annual delivery would be 252,000,000 tons. Since each million men require 29,000,000 tons annually, the total annual deliveries—furnished by all allied ships—would support only 8,000,000 men.

One might ask if some of this tremendous tonnage of food and military supplies could not be obtained from Allied and enemy territory in Europe or Asia. Supplies not under enemy control are being rationed out to the starving civilian population and to the soldiers actually in contact with the enemy. Furthermore, the land transportation of even these meager supplies in Europe, Asia, and Africa is almost impossible, because of enemy action. The very large reserves of trained army and navy men of all Allied Nations at present in Europe, Asia, and Africa, cannot be sent to battle fronts until they have equipment. Thousands of them, in many places, are unable to avoid contact with the enemy and are being slaughtered.

Now, let us retabulate the millions of Allied soldiers and sailors actually waiting now for production and delivery of equipment:

Allied Nations	Forces lacking adequate equipment	Tons required per year
Chinese.....	11,000,000	319,000,000
Russian.....	8,000,000	252,000,000
French (in Africa).....	300,000	8,700,000
Allies in South Pacific.....	300,000	8,700,000
Allies in India, Burma, Africa.....	350,000	10,000,000
United States (present total).....	6,800,000	197,000,000
Great Britain.....	1,000,000	29,000,000
Total.....	27,750,000	824,400,000

Since the maximum possible cargo space per year (in 1943) is 252,000,000 tons for all allied shipping, it is obvious that 824,000,000 tons cannot be delivered. Less than one-third of the 27,750,000 soldiers and sailors now suffering and being murdered, because they lack equipment, can be supplied by the Allied Nations by all available cargo space. Attention is called to the fact that our available ship cargo space will be reduced by submarines and air bombing, but no allowances are made for this in the above figures. Actually submarine sinkings in the past year have accounted for not less than 3,000,000 tons of allied cargo space. These shipping losses, if continued, would limit the Allies to a total of only 7,000,000 effective men on foreign soil and in enemy waters.

While it is apparent that our land forces are already adequate in number (approximately 5,000,000), it is estimated that our naval forces must expand only to the extent of manning new fighting and auxiliary ships. Likewise civilian personnel and naval enlistments must be increased to operate and to protect our new merchant vessels. The Air Force must likewise expand to insure effective combat use of new planes, and to deliver them to other allied forces waiting impatiently for them.

There is, in all this, an implied criticism of the over-all World War strategy. Civilians are prone to "leave military matters to military men." To this the writer thoroughly agrees. But, perhaps, many civilians do not realize that military experts are not experts in many other things upon which victory depends. Get clearly this distinction: The training and experience of Army and Navy men—in our service schools, on our proving and training grounds and waters, and in actual combat—is concerned with the manipulation and movements of fighting men and materials. They do not study or practice technical problems involving actual basic design, manufacture, production, and delivery of the innumerable types of guns, munitions, planes, tanks, trucks, and other supplies. They have practically nothing to do with the technical design of battleships, merchant ships, or railway equipment. Their training and practice gives them profound knowledge and understanding of what they need to win battles and to win wars, and how to manipulate their expendable men and materials to that end. This practice in manipulation—covered largely by courses and training in gunnery and fire control, navigation, maneuvers, seamanship, communications, naval and military history, logistics, strategy, and tactics—tells them, for example, that a gun, a plane, a ship, or a tank is in some degree imperfect, or that auxiliary equipment is needed to improve its performance.

Perfection of military equipment and quantity production of it, however, including transportation and routing, is accomplished by civilian managements and men.

Today's World War presents a major problem in production and delivery. There is in this country at this time a steady tearing

away of keymen from this vital industrial battle front. Another expert tool maker is drafted, to be added to a regiment of men who can be trained, but this man cannot be equipped with his 160 pounds per day. Unlimited "expendables" can be drafted, or forced to apply for officer commissions because otherwise they will be drafted as privates—and many of these latter are so driven from their vital war work in industry, or from their technical education in college. These are not isolated cases. They are occurring by the tens of thousands. Look in the published lists of local draft board inductees, and count the "riveters, machine operators, clothing cutters, industrial engineers, industrial foremen, engineering students, optical experts, mechanics, etc., etc." Men of similar professions and trades—Chinese, Russian, British, French—and millions of their less skilled countrymen are even now waiting and praying for help from us. They plead for food and ammunition. Their plight is almost hopeless.

The United States must produce or our allies will perish. If the United States delays to expand our military might and attempts to support on foreign soil any more than 3,000,000 United States fighting men (with 2,000,000 in reserve), our allies will suffer additional years of murder and starvation before the war is won. It can be won quickly by all-out production.

The greatest asset the United States and the world could have at the peace table would be the good will of our allies—because we deserve it.

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION OF CERTAIN DISABLED PERSONS

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 180) to provide vocational rehabilitation education, training, and other services to persons disabled while members of the armed forces, or disabled in war industries or otherwise and to render such persons fit for service in war industries, agriculture, or other useful civilian industry, and for other purposes.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, in all fairness to the Senators who have left the Chamber, before I move, as I intend to do, that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 786, I feel honor bound to suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum has been suggested. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Alken	Gillette	O'Mahoney
Austin	Green	Overton
Bailey	Guffey	Radcliffe
Ball	Gurney	Reed
Bankhead	Hatch	Revercomb
Barbour	Hayden	Reynolds
Barkley	Hill	Russell
Bone	Holman	Scruggs
Brewster	Johnson, Calif.	Smith
Bridges	Johnson, Colo.	Stewart
Brooks	Kilgore	Taft
Buck	La Follette	Thomas, Okla.
Burton	Langer	Thomas, Utah
Bushfield	Lodge	Tobey
Byrd	Lucas	Truman
Capper	McCarran	Tunnell
Caraway	McClellan	Tydings
Chavez	McNary	Vandenberg
Clark, Idaho	Maloney	Van Nuys
Clark, Mo.	Maybank	Wagner
Connally	Mead	Walsh
Danaher	Millikin	Wheeler
Davis	Moore	White
Eastland	Murdoch	Wiley
Ferguson	Murray	Willis
Gerry	Nye	Wilson
	O'Daniel	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Eighty Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, the essential issue presented by the bill introduced by the Senator from Wisconsin and reported from the Committee on Education and Labor, Senate bill 180, as contrasted with the bill reported from the Senate Committee on Finance, S. 786, introduced by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] and myself, reported from the Subcommittee on Veterans Legislation by a vote of 7 to 1, and reported from the full Committee on Finance by a vote of 16 to 1—the only dissenting vote in each case being that of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin, who is a member of both the subcommittee on Veterans' Legislation and of the Committee on Finance—is whether veterans' affairs should be transferred, or intermeddled, I should say, because there has been a change in the La Follette bill since its introduction in the last session of Congress. The question now is as to whether the question of rehabilitation of the veterans of this war should be mixed up and intermeddled with the question of civilian rehabilitation. Of course, incidental to that is the question of the agencies which are to administer the act. Further incidental to it is the question of the committees of the Senate or of the House which are to handle those problems. The essential question is a simple one of whether the Government owes a different and preferential obligation to the boys taken out of school, to the men taken out of industry, who have had guns put on their shoulders and packs on their backs, men who have been disabled during their service in the armed forces of the United States, and who return incapacitated in comparison with their previous ability to earn a living. The question is whether the Government owes a different obligation to the men whom it has taken and forced into the armed service in many cases, or received into the armed service, in the case of volunteers, as against the ordinary citizen.

I doubt if there is a Member of the Senate who would stand on this floor today and deny the special obligation which the Government owes to the men who are coming back from service with the armed forces. I believe that if the motion which I am presently to make, to proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 786, dealing solely with the rehabilitation program for veterans, should prevail, there would not be 5 minutes of debate in opposition to the bill.

The other alternative is that the veterans, the men who have this special right, the men who have this special claim on the United States Government, are to be tied in with a general social rehabilitation scheme, which may or may not be proper, but which certainly contains a great many controversial issues.

I say, Mr. President, that it is not fair that the special rights of the veterans, whose claims for recognition and for treatment are already developing, and which will develop at an increasingly

rapid rate, should be tied up and be connected with a very controversial subject, with which they have nothing to do, that is to say, the duty of the Federal Government to cooperate with State governments in the general rehabilitation of civilians.

Mr. President, before I make my motion and take my seat, I wish briefly to mention the matter of committee jurisdiction in the Senate, which I realize is always a very ticklish and painful subject.

Unfortunately the Senate, unlike the House, does not have any rule providing by limitation and definition the jurisdiction of committees, but from the very inception of veterans' legislation after the last war the Committee on Finance has always had complete jurisdiction of veterans' legislation. The Finance Committee has always had a separate standing subcommittee on veterans' legislation. I have been a member of that subcommittee for 10 years, ever since I entered the Senate. There are at present three members of that standing subcommittee who were on it when I entered the Senate—the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], who was chairman of the subcommittee until he became chairman of the full committee, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH], and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE]. I think they are now the only members of that committee who are senior to me in point of service. That subcommittee, and the full Committee on Finance, have always had jurisdiction of the subject of veterans' affairs.

Mr. President, I am authorized to speak for the veterans' organizations of the United States, who are very much interested in this whole matter not only because they are veterans of the last war, but because several hundred thousand of them will also be veterans of this war, and because the sons of nearly all of them will be veterans of this war, and I am authorized, not only because I am a member of nearly all these organizations, to speak for them when I say that I have never seen the veterans' organizations of the United States as much wrought up, as unanimous, and as bitter, about any proposition, as they are about the proposal to take a simple matter of veterans' rehabilitation and pitchfork it into a general scheme of social rehabilitation affecting all the people of the United States, which, whether it is justifiable or not, has nothing in common with the question of military rehabilitation.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I yield.

Mr. BARKLEY. I desire to ask the Senator a question pertaining both to the matter of committee jurisdiction, and also regarding the merits of the respective bills upon which we are required to vote.

As I recall, following the last war, or during the last war, in the other branch of the Congress the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce handled most of the veterans' legislation, because such legislation came in the form of amendments to the War Risk Insurance

Act, which had been originally passed for the insurance of ships, and until there was a separate Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation created in the House, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce handled the vocational rehabilitation legislation, as I now recall.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator is entirely correct.

Mr. BARKLEY. When the first veterans' bill came to the Senate, a bill under which the vocational program was put into effect following the last war, the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate handled it. Outside that one instance, I think the Committee on Finance has handled all veterans legislation, probably growing out of the fact that it involved the bonus legislation, which necessitated bond issues, a financial matter, and it was naturally referred to that committee, which assumed jurisdiction, and has exercised it ever since.

I have been apprised of an effort, which I understand is to be made, to take away from the Committee on Finance jurisdiction of all veterans legislation, and to put it into the hands of the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I, too, have been apprised of that, and I am also apprised right now of an effort to take jurisdiction away from the Committee on Finance and put it into the hands of the Committee on Education and Labor, and I am opposed to both efforts.

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not know that there is any such plan to take jurisdiction from the committee.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I am opposed to both plans.

Mr. BARKLEY. I can understand the natural desire of the Committee on Education and Labor to write a comprehensive bill affecting everyone.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. They have never been backward about asserting jurisdiction over any subject.

Mr. BARKLEY. I understand the pending bill was drawn by all the agencies interested in rehabilitation, including the Veterans' Administration, of which General Hines is the head.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him at that point?

Mr. BARKLEY. Certainly.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. General Hines testified before the veterans' subcommittee of the Committee on Finance, at the last session, in behalf of what is essentially Senate bill 786. He was in favor of a separate bill at that time.

Of course, we all can take judicial notice of the fact that General Hines, able as he may be, is not an entirely free agent in all matters, and sometimes the Budget Bureau "puts the heat" on him. I have never wanted to put General Hines on the spot in connection with any testimony he has given before my subcommittee, because I know he has to change his position from time to time when the Budget Bureau tells him to do so. The Senator is as familiar with that fact as I am.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am not arguing one way or the other; I am seeking to elicit from the Senator the facts of the situa-

tion, because I am a member of the Committee on Finance, and if I had not been confined to my bed by a cold on the day when the bill was before the committee, I would have made the seventeenth member to vote to report it.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I was about to state that if the Senator had been present—and we all regretted his illness—I am satisfied he would have voted with the other members of the committee.

Mr. BARKLEY. I would have voted to report the bill. I wish to say now that under the present circumstances I would oppose any effort on the part of any other committee to take away from the Committee on Finance jurisdiction over veterans' legislation, which it has exercised for over a quarter of a century, because it is inseparably connected with means of financing whatever obligation we undertake in behalf of the veterans. I feel very strongly on that subject. Aside from the question of committee pride, and aside from the attitude of the veterans and their representatives, who naturally, I can understand, for many reasons, want a separate bill, I wonder what is the essential difference between title I of the La Follette bill and the Senator's bill?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, the differences between title I of the La Follette bill and the bill introduced by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] and myself are not essential, except that we in our bill go into somewhat more detail. The difference in the matter of the passage of the bills is of very great consequence. In other words, it seems to me there has been an intention on the part of some persons—and I acquit the Senator from Wisconsin of any such intention, because he has been one of the best friends of the veterans I have known in my 10 years' service in the Senate—to ride on the coattails of the veterans. I think the veterans share that feeling. In other words, the proposal in respect to Senate bill 180 is to pass a bill which includes a great many controversial issues, because no one is disposed to oppose the just rights of veterans of this war to a rehabilitation program. The two things involved are essentially different. The men coming back from the armed services, many of whom have been drafted, and the others of whom have volunteered and have equal rights, certainly have very essential claims on the Government's consideration, and Senate bill 180, as it stands now, with title I in it, simply means that the other features, the controversial features of this bill, are going to take a free ride on the coattails of the veterans, and I am opposed to that.

Mr. BARKLEY. Senate bill 180 is now before the Senate.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. That is true.

Mr. BARKLEY. And the Senator's motion, if carried, will displace Senate bill 180, and will result in taking up his bill, and the other bill will then go back to the Calendar where it was previously.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator from Kentucky is really in control of that matter. The Senator from Ken-

tucky, regardless of the fact that the Finance Committee was considering this matter and had reported out certain other bills, arranged for recognition of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] to take up Senate bill 180.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is true. That is not what I was driving at.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. If my motion to proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 786 should be carried, of course it would displace the other bill, Senate bill 180, as the unfinished business. Of course, the Senator from Wisconsin made a nondebatable, nonamendable motion today to take up his bill. I could have filibustered on that bill, which I did not desire to do, because I desired to afford the Senate at the first opportunity a fair chance to decide which measure it desired to consider first. If the motion which I propose to make at the conclusion of my remarks, should be adopted, of course it would automatically displace Senate bill 180. But the Senator from Kentucky, in his all-powerful position, can again arrange for recognition of the Senator from Wisconsin to take up his bill again, and then we can consider the La Follette bill on its merits, so far as civilian rehabilitation is concerned, instead of trying to have that provision take a free coattail ride on the veterans' bill.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I did arrange with the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] and the chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor [Mr. THOMAS of Utah] as I frequently do, for the taking up of a bill. It was then the only bill dealing with the subject on the calendar. It was favorably reported 2 or 3 weeks ago.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I am not criticizing the Senator from Kentucky. I am merely suggesting that if my motion to proceed to the consideration of the Finance Committee bill which has to do solely with veterans, is carried, and if that bill should be disposed of, as I believe it can be disposed of very quickly if we can have it considered—

Mr. BARKLEY. I do not want to delay it.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I should like to see the color of the hair of the Senator who is going to vote against it. I apprehend that after that, the Senator from Kentucky, in his all-powerful position, can make it in order again for the Senator from Wisconsin to take up Senate bill 180 with the veterans provisions deleted.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am trying to clear up the parliamentary situation. Of course I did arrange, as I said, with the committee chairman and with the Senator from Wisconsin that the bill be taken up.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I hope the Senator from Kentucky understands that I am not criticizing him at all.

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes; I understand that. If the motion of the Senator from Missouri is adopted, Senate bill 180 will go back to the calendar, and can be taken up again under the same arrangement.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Certainly.

Mr. BARKLEY. And if the bill of the Senator from Missouri is adopted then of

course title I would naturally come out of Senate bill 180.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Yes. That is what I am trying to do.

Mr. BARKLEY. And Senate bill 180 would be considered on its merits when it comes up under those circumstances.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Yes.

Mr. BARKLEY. There is another amendment, or a substitute, which is in the offing, to be proposed by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT]. If the motion of the Senator from Missouri is adopted, what effect will it have upon the offering of the substitute proposed by the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I will say to the Senator from Kentucky that as he well knows, it will have no effect at all. It will leave the question of civilian rehabilitation to be fought out on its merits. If the Senator from Ohio can offer a substitute which appeals to more Members of the Senate than the original bill of the Senator from Wisconsin, then that will be the bill which will be passed. But there will be eliminated from consideration in connection with that measure the veterans who have a special claim on the Federal Government, and the veterans' bill will be passed and probably signed by the President.

Mr. BARKLEY. I am perfectly willing that the Senator's motion be voted on at once, and for that reason I shall not take up any more of his time. I wanted to clear up the parliamentary situation, however, in either event.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator and I are entirely in agreement on the parliamentary situation.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I merely wanted to say with respect to the substitute I have proposed—it has not been offered as yet—that it was prepared for the purpose of being offered only after the Senate had passed the veterans' bill, and Senate bill 180 was again before the Senate. So the adoption of the Senator's motion has no relation whatever to my bill, except that my bill presupposes that the veterans will be taken care of by separate legislation.

Mr. BARKLEY. The Senator from Ohio just handed me a copy of his bill, which is as big as my foot. I did not know whether it covered the veterans.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I merely wanted to add a statement to the proposition which has been submitted by the able Senator from Missouri. There is one thing which he forgot to tell the Senate, which I think is important, and it had something to do with controlling my vote as a member of the subcommittee which handled this very important proposed legislation. As I recall—and the Senator from Missouri will correct me if I am wrong—the testimony of General Hines before our subcommittee was to the effect that some 700 or 800 men are now back from the conflict in hospitals of this country and are in a position now to receive vocational training through the proposed re-

habilitation program as soon as the Congress passes the legislation.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator from Illinois is entirely correct in that statement.

Mr. LUCAS. If we consider the La Follette bill as it is written at the present time, it would mean, as the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] said earlier today, and previously said before the committee, perhaps an interminable delay, not only because of the debate which will result in the Senate, but because of the parliamentary situation in which the House may find itself, and every day's delay in connection with the veterans who have already been returned is just that much delay toward their rehabilitation so far as the vocational training is concerned. I thought the Senate ought to know that, because it is very important.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. The Senator from Illinois is entirely correct.

Mr. President, I now move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 786, Calendar 74.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HILL in the chair). The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 786) to amend title I of Public Law No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, March 20, 1933, and the Veterans Regulations to provide for rehabilitation of disabled veterans, and for other purposes.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I do not desire to prolong this debate, but for the purposes of the record I wish to make a brief statement in relation to the statement made by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK]. The Senator said that the issue overshadowing all others was the obligation which this country owes its disabled veterans, and I agree with that statement. I wish to say that in any connections I have had with this matter, there never has been any doubt in my mind that the Federal Government owed such an obligation, and should pay whatever may be the costs of rehabilitation and vocational training for veterans. But I contend that, in the light of our past experience and in the light of the cost of the program, there was ample justification for attempting to work out a comprehensive program which would deal, as I said earlier today, with the three important phases of vocational rehabilitation, namely, the vocational rehabilitation of veterans who have a service-connected disability, and vocational rehabilitation of citizens who voluntarily or otherwise offered their services in connection with the war, such as the Civilian Defense Corps, the Civilian Air Patrol, the Air Raid Warning Service, and the brave men who are going to sea and dying in the service of the Maritime Commission and the War Shipping Administration, as well as other citizens—civilians if you choose to call them such—who are in need of vocational rehabilitation and vocational training, and who, if given the opportunity, can help in the war effort.

Mr. President, I make no apologies to any veterans' organization or to any citizen for having made a conscientious effort, after studying the question for

many months, to adopt a comprehensive program, which, in my opinion, in the end would be a less expensive program, and which at the same time would give adequate service in rehabilitation to the veterans who are disabled, and whose service-connected disability is acknowledged by the Veterans' Administration.

In this connection, Mr. President, let me say that thousands of veterans who will suffer disabilities in this war will never be able to offer sufficient evidence of a medical character to satisfy the Veterans' Administration, and would never be taken care of under the bill which the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] now offers to displace the pending bill.

I also wish Senators who may not have been present earlier in the day to know that when I secured agreement to the motion to proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 180, I abandoned title I thereof. I did not do so because of the campaign carried on by the veterans' organizations, but because the House Committee on Education, which had before it a companion bill to this one, has already reported its bill with title I stricken out. I knew that even if the fight could be won here it would avail nothing, because, in all probability, the House conferees would be instructed, in the light of separate action in that body on a separate piece of legislation, not to consider in conference any subject matter which we might have dealing with it.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I have been informed that the House committee has not reported the House companion bill to Senate bill 180. The House committee struck out title I, but the bill is still resting in the House committee, and I think it is very doubtful whether it will be reported.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The Senator's information may be more nearly current than mine, but the statement was made to me by someone in whom I have confidence, and who I believe had the correct information this morning; and it was later confirmed by the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. My information was that the House committee had stricken out title I, but I did not know whether it had reported the bill.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Be that as it may, it was the action of the House committee which clearly convinced me that there was no longer any hope of passing a comprehensive bill which would deal with all phases of the veterans' problem.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President—

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I should like to have the Senate know, before it votes on the pending motion, that I have pending an amendment which would eliminate from Senate bill 180 the veterans' provision with one slight exception, which I shall be glad to explain if it becomes necessary. I now yield to the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. TYDINGS. May I ask the Senator from Wisconsin if there is any essential difference between the treatment of disabled veterans in his bill and the treatment of the same question in the bill being sponsored by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK]?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I believe it is fair to state that there is only one important difference, and that is that in title I of Senate bill 180 a legislative policy is enunciated, that in affording veterans vocational training, wherever in the judgment of the Veterans' Administrator he finds that the Federal-State system is providing adequate training suitable to the veteran—I am paraphrasing the language—he shall utilize such training; whereas in the bill to be taken up if the motion of the Senator from Missouri should prevail, the Veterans' Administrator would be given permission, if he should desire to do so, to use any other agencies which he might deem advisable.

Mr. TYDINGS. Will the Senator further yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. However, in either case the rehabilitation of the disabled veterans would be under the jurisdiction of the Veterans' Administration, would it not?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It would be, and it would be paid for 100 percent by the Federal Government.

Mr. TYDINGS. Am I correct in drawing what seems to me to be the obvious deduction, namely, that if the Senator's bill should pass, almost the identical treatment, with the exception which he has noted, would be accorded to veterans by the Veterans' Administration as would be accorded if we should pass the bill sponsored by the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. General Hines testified before the veterans' subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Finance at the hearing preceding the reporting by the committee of the bill of the Senator from Missouri, that so far as the administration of the law and treatment of the veterans was concerned he would operate practically the same under either bill.

Mr. TYDINGS. So the remaining difference is twofold: First, that it might not be advisable to connect the two features, if that viewpoint should be taken; and, second, that one measure is permissive as to the agencies which might be employed, and the other is mandatory as to the agencies which might be employed for rehabilitation of disabled veterans.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The statement of the Senator is correct, except that the judgment of the Veterans' Administrator would prevail in the utilization of agencies.

Mr. TYDINGS. That is, in the bill sponsored by the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. A legislative policy is enunciated, but the hands of the Veterans' Administrator are not tied.

Mr. TYDINGS. As I understand the explanation, the Veterans' Administration would be free to take either the existing Federal-State vocational agencies,

or to set up an independent agency of its own under the provisions of Senate bill 180.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Yes, but the Veterans' Administrator would have to find that in his judgment the directive of Congress could not be carried out because he did not believe the training was adequately provided for under such a system.

Mr. TYDINGS. I have one more question to propound to the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin, and then I shall be through. In the event that Senate bill 180 should become a law, would there be a mixture of disabled veterans and those who are not veterans in any particular place where rehabilitation work is taking place, or would the two groups who are to have rehabilitation, namely, the veterans on the one hand, and nonveterans on the other, be separated?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The physical rehabilitation under Senate bill 180 would take place under the Veterans' Administration and in the veterans' hospitals.

Mr. TYDINGS. For the disabled veterans?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. For the disabled veterans with service-connected disabilities. If the Veterans' Administrator should find that the Federal-State system could satisfactorily provide the educational and vocational training after the physical rehabilitation had taken place, under the terms of Senate bill 180 he would more or less be directed to follow that procedure. Under the terms of the bill sponsored by the Senator from Missouri he would be given permission to do so.

Mr. President, I consider this issue very much more important than the social ends to which the Senator from Missouri has alluded. As I have already said—and I will repeat the statement for the benefit of Senators who may not have heard me—2,000,000 persons in this country could be rehabilitated. With the manpower shortage which now exists, any persons who can be rehabilitated and made available for agricultural or industrial production represent a vital part of the war effort.

I make no apologies to anyone for my desire to see social ends and objectives maintained and extended wherever it can be done on a sound basis. However, this whole subject matter has a very definite relationship to the war effort. While it is true that many of the provisions of the proposed legislation are drawn on a permanent basis, I wish to point out that if one will take the trouble to examine the testimony, in my opinion, he will be unable to come to any other conclusion than that there is a reservoir of manpower which, with proper legislation and financial support, we can tap within the probable duration of this war, unless it should end very shortly; and I am not one of those who so believe.

Mr. TYDINGS. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. Is it contended in any quarter that the rehabilitation training which disabled veterans would receive would be more efficient under the bill

sponsored by the Senator from Wisconsin than under the bill sponsored by the Senator from Missouri; or is it assumed that the training would be about the same, no matter which of the two bills were passed?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. My frank and candid opinion is that, so far as the veteran himself is concerned, it would make very little difference to him as an individual whether title I of Senate bill 180 were adopted, or whether the bill which the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] has moved to consider were passed. I believe that by attempting to deal in a somewhat comprehensive way with this question, and by expressing legislative policy, we might have a more economical and more efficient system under a comprehensive general bill than would be the case under two separate bills.

I wish to repeat what I have already said. In light of the action taken by the committee which has companion jurisdiction, and in light of the action taken by the author of the companion bill in the House, I have come to the conclusion that there is no hope of securing legislation dealing with all phases of the subject. Therefore, earlier in the day I offered to abandon that controversial field, although I then stated—and I now repeat—that I think that to do so would be a mistake in legislative policy, the views of veterans' organizations to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, let me say that the arguments in favor of the bill have been so ably presented by the distinguished senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] that no further comment seems to me to be necessary. However, I should like to read into the RECORD a statement of the position of the veterans, which has been concurred in by the majority members of the Committee on Finance.

Mr. Omar B. Ketchum, legislative representative, Veterans of Foreign Wars, testified as follows:

So when we find legislation designed to cover not only the war disabled veterans but also the disabled civilians, even though they are in a sense divided into two categories in the one bill, we still believe that they should be separate, that each group should stand on its own legs and on its own merit, and there should be at no time any legislation dealing jointly with disabled war veterans and with disabled civilians regardless of how these civilians were disabled, whether it was in war industry or whether it was the result of an accident at birth, as long as the disability was not incurred as a member of the personnel of the armed forces.

Consequently we are deeply concerned when we see a serious effort being made to tie up disabled veterans and disabled civilians in the same piece of legislation regardless of the contention that they are going to be handled separately by, first, the Veterans' Administration and, second, by the Federal Security Agency.

Again, the same witness testified:

If it is logical to tie up the two problems here in this one bill, then why don't they tie up under veterans' compensation and pension, other legislation such as railroad retirement and employees compensation, unemployment compensation, old-age pensions—why don't they tie all that up with legislation dealing with compensation and

pensions for veterans? Why do they suddenly come along and decide that when we are going to deal with a strictly veterans' problem we are also going to tie in with that problem others dealing with civilians and establish a new precedent in the Congress? That simply means if S. 180 becomes law then in the future any amendment that may come before the Congress in connection with this would undoubtedly be referred to the Committee on Education and Labor in the Senate. It would mean the same thing in the House. It means then that more and more the problems of the veterans are going to be distributed through the various committees of Congress instead of confining them to the committees that are established to deal specifically with the veterans' problems. That is, I will tell you frankly, Senator, what I am honestly afraid of in this bill.

I will make you this prophecy, that if S. 180 is the bill which becomes law, that then within a year they will come back to the Congress, the Federal Security Agency, and those people who are interested in it, will come back to the Congress and will ask for an amendment, stating that it is unnecessary to have two separate administrations; that the cost is excessive and that the sensible and sound administration method of handling this thing would be to channel it all through the Federal Security Agency and cut out the separate administration for the veterans, and they will point out how they can save money in the overlapping and duplicating cost of this program, and inasmuch as the bill has once been passed linking the two together, it will sound reasonable to the Congress that maybe it should be changed. Then you are right back to where we were in the Seventy-seventh Congress when the original bill was introduced.

We are striving, Senator, not to defeat your social objectives, not to defeat rehabilitation for disabled civilians in this country—but we are striving desperately to keep the problems of veterans segregated from the problems of civilians. I know once legislation of this character is enacted into law it is only the first step, the preliminary step to start lumping all of their problems together. That is the desperate fight we are making.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WALSH. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I should like to make a suggestion particularly in response to what the Senator from Maryland said a moment ago in asking his question. It is very difficult to understand Senate bill 180 of the Seventy-eighth Congress without taking into consideration the history of Senate bill 2714 of the Seventy-seventh Congress, which was introduced by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] on August 13, 1942, and which absolutely and boldly raped the Veterans' Administration of any jurisdiction over veterans' rehabilitation, and conferred exclusive jurisdiction over the program for veterans, as well as for civilians, upon the Federal Security Administration, Mr. Altmeyer and Mr. McNutt.

Mr. WALSH. I think that is the basis of a great deal of the objection.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. There is no question about that. I have a fear, the veterans have a fear, and everyone else has a fear, that the undertaking is to remove jurisdiction over the veterans from the Veterans' Administration; and it is feared that if the two problems are

linked together there will be a repetition of such an attempt.

Mr. WALSH. I have nothing more to say except that in the last season the House passed a similar bill to this. The Senate failed to pass the bill because we did not reach it until the last few weeks of the session. It is clear to my mind that the House intends to be ready speedily and quickly to pass a bill of this kind—a bill proposing a division of such legislation.

Without discussing the merits of the bill introduced by the able senior Senator from Wisconsin, it is clear that it involves many questions which are certain to arouse much confusion, dispute, and disagreement. It looks to me as if there would be great delay in obtaining legislation such as he proposes.

Let us pass Senate bill 786 and send it to the House. Then there will be no reason why, within a week or two, we cannot have the veterans taken care of by appropriate legislation enacted in the form in which they wish to have it enacted, and giving them the care to which they think they are reasonably entitled.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I rise to make a brief statement, not for the purpose of influencing the vote of any other Senator, but lest there might seem to be some inconsistency in connection with my own vote.

When Senate bill 180 was reported from the Committee on Education and Labor, I waited for the Senator from Wisconsin to move to take it up as soon as possible. We were ready to take it up a few days ago, but for some reason or other it went over.

I should be prepared to vote for the bill as a whole if it were before the Senate without any controversy as to the question of a division into two separate bills. However, since the bill has been reported it has become obvious that the Senate will have to pass two separate bills.

In the House there is a Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation which corresponds, so far as the handling of veterans' legislation is concerned, to the Senate Committee on Finance. The House also has a Committee on Education, which, as has been indicated here, has stricken out the part of the bill relating to the matter dealt with by the companion bill.

If Senate bill 180 were to be passed by the Senate and go to the House, the House would proceed—as it has already done in connection with its own bill—to strike out title I, the part relating to veterans, and to handle that matter in a separate bill. In view of that situation, the Senator from Wisconsin has offered to delete title I from Senate bill 180.

Under the circumstances, it is obvious that we must pass two separate bills. The only question before the Senate is, Which bill shall the Senate take up first? That is the only question which remains to be decided.

The motion of the Senator from Missouri is for the Senate to proceed to consider Senate bill 786, and to dispose of it. I think that can be done very promptly.

Later we can take up the other bill and dispose of it. In view of the fact that we must handle the questions involved in two separate bills, it seems to me that the sensible thing to do is to take up first the bill which the Senator from Missouri has moved to consider, dispose of it, and then take up the other bill.

REHABILITATION OF DISABLED VETERANS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HILL in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Missouri that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 786.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 786) to amend title I of Public Law No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, March 20, 1933, and the veterans regulations to provide for rehabilitation of disabled veterans, and for other purposes, which had been reported from the Committee on Finance, with an amendment, on page 4, line 22, before the word "handicap", to strike out "material and permanent."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I offer an amendment to appear as a new section at the end of the bill, and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. At the end of the bill it is proposed to add the following new section:

SEC. 4. In providing rehabilitation training for disabled veterans entitled thereunder to laws administered by the Veterans' Administration, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs shall, as far as practicable, utilize training provided under State plans for vocational rehabilitation, in cases in which in his judgment satisfactory training can be provided under such plans. In such cases the veterans to be trained under such plans shall be selected by the Veterans' Administration and the training to be provided shall be that prescribed by the Veterans' Administration; and the expense, on an actual cost basis, of the services rendered shall be reimbursed by the Veterans' Administration out of the appropriation applicable. The Administrator is authorized, pursuant to agreement with the Federal Security Administrator, to utilize the facilities and services of the Federal Security Agency in carrying out the provisions of this section.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, the language of the amendment is taken verbatim from the part of Senate bill 180 to which I referred in the colloquy just concluded with the Senator from Maryland. The language was very carefully worked out, and I am in a position to say is, from the administrative standpoint, entirely satisfactory to General Hines.

All the amendment seeks to do is to express as a legislative policy that State-Federal rehabilitation training which is now being supported, and will continue to be supported, out of Federal funds, under existing law, even if Senate bill 180 never comes up again, shall be utilized by the Veterans' Administrator in providing vocational training for veterans when, in his judgment, the State-Federal

plan is adequate and efficient to give the veterans that type of training.

Mr. TAFT. If the Senator will yield, I see no objection to the first sentence in the amendment, but the last sentence reads:

The Administrator is authorized, pursuant to agreement with the Federal Security Administrator, to utilize the facilities and services of the Federal Security Agency in carrying out the provisions of this section.

What are the facilities of the Federal Security Administration?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I was about to explain that this language was put into the section at the request of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs for the simple reason that if he finds that after a veteran has been physically rehabilitated in a veterans' hospital, the Federal-State program in Ohio, let us say, is perfectly adequate for training a veteran in that State, affording vocational rehabilitation and vocational training, he can certify the veteran to the State system. That would mean, of course, that the Federal Government would have to provide 100 percent of the money, and the Veterans' Administration does not want to have added fiscal relationships with a large number of States in making payments to individual veterans who may be in training.

The Administrator requested that language be placed in the bill which would permit him to utilize the Federal Security Administration, which now, under existing law, makes the payments to the States for the Federal Government's share of the present Federal-State program. This would merely eliminate making of direct payments to the State systems by the Veterans' Administrator. The payments would be made by the Federal Security Administrator, and the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs would reimburse the Federal Security Administrator out of his funds, in lump sum, for any veterans who had been so trained.

Mr. TAFT. I do not think the Veterans' Administrator, in certifying a veteran to a State, should have to go through the Federal Security Administrator. I do not see what facilities the Federal Security Administrator is going to have to certify men to the State system. I cannot understand what his relations to the veterans will be which will put him in a position to certify in any better way than the Veterans' Administrator can himself certify. In Senate bill 786, on page 3, it is provided already that the Administrator may utilize the facilities of any governmental agency, as well as those maintained by joint Federal and State contributions. There may be some service the Federal Security Administrator may render, but I do not know what facility he has, unless the Senator is contemplating setting up a system of Federal Security Administration which will be applicable.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Of course not, and the Senator knows I have no such intention, and Senate bill 180 specifically prohibits any such thing. The fact of the matter is that the only objective of the amendment is to give a legislative directive concerning the Federal-State systems, which are supported by both the

Federal and State Governments. Half the money is now coming out of the Federal Treasury, and will continue to do so even though Senate bill 180 is never heard of again. The amendment is offered merely to provide that where the State systems are adequate, in the judgment of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, he shall utilize them, and thus save the Congress and the Treasury the burden of passing appropriations to provide separate facilities.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I agree with the Senator in part, and I think the first portion of his amendment is all right. I do not know why the Veterans' Administrator should not, so far as he can, use all existing State facilities. But there are no Federal Security facilities that I know of which could be utilized, and I do not see why every veteran should have to pass, first, through the Veterans' Administration; second, through the Federal Security Administration; and third, through the State procedure.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The Federal Security Administration now has the Office of Education, which is the office which administers the present Federal-State vocational rehabilitation program. He has all the financial relationships with the various State vocational boards for education. He pays the money into the State treasuries, or it is paid into them on his direction from the Federal Treasury.

All I can state to the Senator from Ohio is that General Hines does not want to have to establish a system of fiscal relationship with every State agency for each and every individual veteran, and to handle the individual checks which will have to be paid to each State agency for every veteran who is under training under each State agency. That is all that is involved in the amendment.

It cost \$5,000 a man to rehabilitate the veterans of the last war; we spent \$640,000,000 in that work, and it seems to me it would be the better part of wisdom to give to the Veterans' Administrator a direction that where he can save any money, and at the same time not impair the type of vocational service given to a disabled veteran, he should do so.

If the Senate does not want to do it, so far as I am concerned, I have discharged what little responsibility I have in this matter by offering the amendment.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I certainly do not desire to detain the Senate at this hour with an undue discussion of this matter; I merely desire to call attention to paragraph 2 of section 2 on page 2 of Senate bill 786, which is now before the Senate. That provision is as follows:

The Administrator shall have the power and duty—

I do not know how to use any stronger words—

The Administrator shall have the power and duty to prescribe and provide suitable training to persons included in paragraph 1, and for such purposes may employ such additional personnel and experts as are deemed

necessary, and may utilize and extend existing Veterans' Administration facilities and utilize those of any other governmental agency as well as those maintained by joint Federal and State contribution; and, in addition, he may, by agreement or contract with public or private institutions or establishments, provide for such additional training facilities as may be suitable and necessary to accomplish the purposes of this part.

Mr. President, that seems to me to be as far as the Congress should go in this matter. If we go further, as suggested by the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin, we will simply be hamstringing the Veterans' Administration and any independent administration of the act, throwing it into the hands of the Social Security Administration, which seems to be the purpose of most of the proposals introduced on this subject.

The veterans do not wish to be under the Social Security Administration. They know from bitter experience following the last war what happened to them when they had half a dozen different agencies passing on them. I personally have had the experience of some of my own men coming in to see me and asking me to fill out blanks for them, to write governmental agencies for them in an effort to obtain benefits to which they were entitled for services about which I knew personally. I have had the experience of writing seven or eight different governmental agencies, and having each of them "pass the buck" to some other. It was not until we established the Veterans' Administration, it was not until we got the Committee on Veterans' Affairs in the House of Representatives, and it was not until the Finance Committee of the Senate created a standing subcommittee known as the Subcommittee on Veterans' Legislation, that we ever began to get any justice from the Government of the United States for the veterans.

Mr. President, I say that the adoption of the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin, which would make it mandatory on the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to submit himself to the Social Security authority, which is the only way in which I can read the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin, instead of laying down a broad general policy for the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, as is provided in Senate bill 786, would be a very serious mistake, and I hope the amendment will be voted down.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I cannot let the statement made by the Senator from Missouri go unchallenged, for the language of my amendment is not subject to the interpretation the Senator places upon it. I wish to read it:

In providing rehabilitation training—

That has nothing to do with physical rehabilitation:

In providing rehabilitation training for disabled veterans entitled thereto under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs shall, as far as practicable—

That leaves it entirely within his discretion—

utilize training provided under State plans for vocational rehabilitation—

Those are the plans for which the Federal Government is putting up 50 percent of the money—

In cases in which in his judgment—

That is in the judgment of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs—

satisfactory training can be provided under such plans.

That leaves the decision entirely to him. But it does give a legislative direction that where such plans are satisfactory he should utilize them. If Senators want a repetition of what has happened, if they want separate facilities set up all over the United States, that is the responsibility of Congress and of the majority of Congress. But I think it the better part of wisdom, when we are appropriating the money, that if in the judgment of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, a Federal-State agency can give training which he believes to be satisfactory, he should utilize it.

In such cases the veterans to be trained under such plans shall be selected by the Veterans' Administration and the training to be provided shall be that prescribed by the Veterans' Administration; and the expense, on an actual cost basis, of the services rendered shall be reimbursed by the Veterans' Administration out of the appropriation applicable.

Up to that point the Federal Security Administrator has not been mentioned. Now listen to the last sentence:

The Administrator—

That is the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs—

is authorized—

He is not directed; he is authorized—

pursuant to agreement with the Federal Security Administrator, to utilize the facilities and services of the Federal Security Agency in carrying out the provisions of this section.

As I have said, that provision was put in at General Hines' request, in order that he should not be obliged to have detailed financial relationships with each of the States in which he determined to utilize their training facilities, and send individual checks to reimburse the States for the training of individual veterans. That is all that is involved in this whole matter, so far as the amendment is concerned.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, I think perhaps the interpretation made by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] of his own words is entirely correct, but we have had many instances of quite different interpretations having been made of measures after they have left the legislative halls. I wish to agree with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. CLARK] when he says that veterans who are able to establish their disability in connection with active combat or war service, are in a separate class, and that the hands of the Federal Security Administrator should not be put upon them.

We should leave this matter entirely to the Veterans' Administration, which has proved to be satisfactory to every veterans' organization in America, and

we should not open the door and permit the feet of any other agency to come in. There will be thousands of service men, hundreds of thousands possibly, who will not be able to establish a war connection to their disability, and their cases should not be handled by other groups. But so long as they can establish that they were singled out, either by their own request, or by orders of their Government, and given guns and told to go out and kill men or be killed—and war is a killing business, Senators—their cases should be dealt with by the Veterans' Administration. We place men in a plane or in a tank, or give them guns, and send them out to meet other men in planes, or tanks, and with guns. We ought to give our men special treatment, and we ought to keep the administration of their cases entirely in the hands of the Veterans' Administration. Although I believe the Senator from Wisconsin gives the proper interpretation to his own words, as he sees them yet, so far as our men are concerned, I believe their cases should be placed in the hands of the Veterans' Administration and left there.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, referring to page 3 of Senate bill 786, I call attention to the paragraph beginning in line 10. Senators will notice that the language refers only to men soldiers. It is quite unusual for the people of the United States to think of any soldiers excepting men soldiers, but in our armed services today, in the Navy, the Army, the Marine Corps, and in the Coast Guard we have women; so we should make the language take care of them also, because they do come under the proposed veterans' legislation.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. GURNEY. I yield.

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. I will say that if the Senator from South Dakota will suggest an amendment to conform to his suggestion, I shall be glad to accept it.

Mr. GURNEY. I offer an amendment on page 3, line 11, after the word "his", to insert the words "or her"; on the same page, line 15, after the word "wife", to insert "husband"; and on page 4, in line 12, after the word "his", to insert the words "or her."

Mr. CLARK of Missouri. Mr. President, I accept that amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, line 11, after the word "his", it is proposed to insert "or her"; on the same page, line 15, after the word "wife", it is proposed to insert "husband"; and on page 4, line 12, after the word "his", it is proposed to insert the words "or her."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

If there be no further amendments, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill (S. 786) was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That section 1, title I, Public, No. 2, Seventy-third Congress, approved March 20, 1933, be amended by adding at the end thereof a new subsection known as subsection (f) and to read as follows:

"(f) Any person who served in the active military or naval forces on or after December 7, 1941, and prior to the termination of hostilities in the present war shall be entitled to vocational rehabilitation, subject to the provisions and limitations of Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, part VII."

SEC. 2. Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a), as amended, is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof a new part to be known as part VII and to provide as follows:

"PART VII

"1. Any person who served in the active military or naval service at any time after December 6, 1941, and prior to the termination of the present war, who is honorably discharged therefrom, and who has a disability incurred in or aggravated by such service for which pension is payable under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration, or would be but for receipt of retirement pay, and is in need of vocational rehabilitation to overcome the handicap of such disability, shall be entitled to such vocational rehabilitation as may be prescribed by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to fit him for employment consistent with the degree of disablement: *Provided*, That no course of training in excess of a period of 4 years shall be approved nor shall any training under this part be afforded beyond 6 years after the termination of the present war.

"2. The Administrator shall have the power and duty to prescribe and provide suitable training to persons included in paragraph 1, and for such purposes may employ such additional personnel and experts as are deemed necessary, and may utilize and extend existing Veterans' Administration facilities and utilize those of any other governmental agency as well as those maintained by joint Federal and State contribution; and, in addition, he may, by agreement or contract with public or private institutions or establishments, provide for such additional training facilities as may be suitable and necessary to accomplish the purposes of this part.

"3. While pursuing training prescribed herein, and for 2 months after his or her employability is determined, each veteran, if entitled to pension in an amount less than the amount payable in accordance with the compensation rates for total and temporary disability, including additional amounts for wife, husband, child, or children and dependent parents, provided by section 202, World War Veterans' Act, 1924, as amended (U. S. C., title 38, sec. 475), shall be paid increased pension which when added to the amount of pension to which he is otherwise entitled will aggregate an amount equal to such rates: *Provided*, That when the course of vocational rehabilitation furnished to any person as herein provided consists of training on the job by an employer, such employer shall be required to submit monthly to the Administrator a statement under oath showing any wage, compensation, or other income paid by him to such person during the month, directly or indirectly, and based upon such sworn statements, the Administrator is authorized to reduce the pension of such person to an amount considered equitable and just, but not below the amount of pension or retirement pay to which he would be entitled for service-connected disability if not following a course of vocational rehabilitation.

"4. Where any person while following a course of vocational rehabilitation as provided for in this part suffers an injury or an

aggravation of any injury, as a result of the pursuit of such course of vocational rehabilitation, and not the result of his or her own willful misconduct, and such injury or aggravation results in additional disability to or death of such person, the benefits under laws applicable to veterans of the present war shall be awarded in the same manner and extent as if such disability, aggravation, or death were service-connected within the meaning of such laws; except that no benefits under this paragraph shall be awarded unless application be made therefor within 2 years after such injury or aggravation was suffered, or such death occurred.

"5. The purpose of rehabilitation to restore employability lost by virtue of a handicap due to service-incurred disability. The Administrator shall have the power and duty to cooperate with and employ the facilities of other governmental and State employment agencies for the purpose of placing in gainful employment persons trained under the provisions of this part.

"6. The Administrator is hereby authorized to make such rules and regulations as may be deemed necessary in order to promote good conduct and cooperation on the part of persons who are following courses of vocational rehabilitation provided by this part. Penalties for the breach of such rules and regulations may, with the approval of the Administrator, extend to a forfeiture by the offender for a period of 3 months of such portion of the pension herein provided as will leave him not less than the amount of the monthly pension or retirement pay to which such person is entitled for service-connected disability, and such penalties may also extend to permanent discontinuance of all further benefits of this part.

"7. The Administrator is hereby authorized to make such rules and regulations as may be deemed necessary for the granting of leaves of absence to those following courses of vocational rehabilitation provided by this part where in his opinion such leaves do not materially interfere with the pursuit of such courses. Such leaves of absence shall not in the case of any person be granted in excess of 30 days in any consecutive 12 months except in exceptional circumstances as determined by the Administrator: *Provided*, That during leave of absence under this paragraph such person shall be considered to be pursuing his course of vocational rehabilitation under this part.

"8. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, available immediately and until expended, the sum of \$500,000 to be utilized by the Veterans' Administration under such rules and regulations as the Administrator may prescribe, as a revolving fund for the purpose of making advancements not exceeding \$100 in any case, to persons commencing or undertaking courses of vocational rehabilitation under this part, and advancement to bear no interest and to be reimbursed in such installments as may be determined by the Administrator by proper deductions from any future payments of pension or retirement pay.

"9. The Administrator shall have the power to provide courses of instruction for personnel and may detail employees to attend the same and may detail any such personnel to attend courses conducted by other than Veterans' Administration agencies, including private organizations, and such employees in addition to their salaries shall be entitled to the payment of expenses incident to such detail, including transportation and tuition, as the Administrator by rules and regulations shall provide; and also in his discretion, to make, or, as by agreement with other agency or institution, cause to be made studies, investigations, and reports inquiring into the rehabilitation of disabled persons and the relative abilities, aptitudes, and

capacities of the several groups of the variously handicapped and as to how their potentialities can best be developed and their services best utilized in gainful and suitable employment, including the rehabilitation programs of foreign nations engaged in the present war. For this purpose he shall have the power to cooperate with such public and private agencies as he may deem advisable and to call in consultants who shall receive as compensation for their services a reasonable per diem, which the Administrator shall by rules and regulations provide, for each day actually spent in the work provided for herein and shall in addition be reimbursed for their necessary traveling and other expenses. For the purposes of this part, the Administrator may accept uncompensated services upon such agreement as he may deem feasible."

SEC. 3. The appropriations for the Veterans' Administration, "Salaries and expenses, medical and hospital, and compensation and pensions," shall be available for necessary expenses, including but not confined to necessary medical care, and pension payment, payment of reimbursement of expenses in connection with supplying suitable training under this act; and there is hereby authorized to be appropriated such additional amount or amounts as may be necessary to accomplish the purposes of this act.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HILL in the chair) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. HAYDEN, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads:

Sundry postmasters.

By Mr. WHEELER, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

Chase A. Clark, of Idaho, to be United States district judge for the district of Idaho, vice Charles C. Cavanah, retired.

By Mr. KILGORE, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

Curtis L. Waller, of Florida, to be judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, additional position.

By Mr. HATCH, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

Thurman W. Arnold, of Connecticut, to be an associate justice of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, vice Wiley Blount Rutledge, resigned.

Mr. BAILEY, from the Committee on Commerce:

Sundry employees of the Coast and Geodetic Survey to be appointed hydrographic and geodetic engineers with the rank of lieutenant commanders in that Survey.

By Mr. REYNOLDS, from the Committee on Military Affairs:

Sundry officers for appointment and appointment, by transfer, in the Regular Army.

By Mr. WALSH, from the Committee on Naval Affairs:

Several citizens and a meritorious non-commissioned officer to be second lieutenants in the Marine Corps.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will proceed to state the nominations on the calendar.

MINT OF THE UNITED STATES

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Moses E. Smith, of Ault, Colo., to be superintendent of the mint at Denver, Colo.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

THE JUDICIARY—NOMINATION OF CHASE A. CLARK

Mr. CLARK of Idaho. Mr. President, the Judiciary Committee today reported unanimously the nomination of Chase A. Clark, of Idaho, to be the United States district judge for the district of Idaho. There is a term of court approaching, and this office has been vacant for some time. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of this nomination.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, will the Senator defer his request until we conclude consideration of the nominations on the Executive Calendar?

Mr. CLARK of Idaho. Very well.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the next nomination on the calendar.

UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of James S. Miller, to be dental surgeon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Gordon G. Braendle to be dental surgeon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask that the nominations of postmasters on the calendar be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the postmaster nominations are confirmed en bloc.

THE JUDICIARY—NOMINATION OF CHASE A. CLARK

Mr. CLARK of Idaho. Mr. President, referring to my statement of a few moments ago as to the nomination of Chase A. Clark, of Idaho, to be United States district judge for the district of Idaho, which was favorably reported from the Committee on the Judiciary earlier in the day, I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the nomination.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The nomination will be stated for the information of the Senate.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Chase A. Clark, of Idaho, to be United States district judge for the district of Idaho.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Idaho? The Chair hears none. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask that the President be immediately notified of all nominations confirmed today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the President will be immediately notified.

ADJOURNMENT TO TUESDAY

Mr. BARKLEY. As in legislative session, I move that the Senate adjourn until 12 o'clock noon on Tuesday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Tuesday, March 9, 1943, at 12 o'clock noon.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate March 5, 1943:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Harold E. Montamat, of New Jersey, now a Foreign Service officer of class 7 and a secretary in the Diplomatic Service, to be also a consul of the United States of America.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

John M. Houston, of Kansas, to be a member of the National Labor Relations Board for the unexpired term of 5 years from August 27, 1938, vice William M. Lelsersen.

REGISTER OF LAND OFFICE

George Abild, of South Dakota, to be register of the land office at Pierre, S. Dak., vice Fred S. Minier.

UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The following-named passed assistant surgeons to be surgeons in the United States Public Health Service to be effective from the date set opposite their names:

Mason V. Hargett, February 16, 1943.

Cassius J. Van Slyke, March 3, 1943.

Erwin W. Blatter, April 4, 1943.

POSTMASTERS

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

ALABAMA

Joseph G. Hardin, Hillsboro, Ala. Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

ARIZONA

Jessie L. Beyard, Sellman, Ariz., in place of S. B. Boner, resigned.

Sara O. Delgado, Tiger, Ariz. Office became Presidential July 1, 1941.

ARKANSAS

Chester C. Stokes, Buckner, Ark. Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

Jessie Garner, Kingsland, Ark. Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

Mildred T. Akin, Proctor, Ark. Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

CALIFORNIA

Albert C. Rist, Bradley, Calif. Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

Janet R. Carroll, Pebble Beach, Calif., in place of J. R. Carroll. Incumbent's commission expired May 4, 1942.

COLORADO

Loudene Humeston, Collbran, Colo., in place of A. E. Humeston, retired.

DELAWARE

John D. J. Lewis, Edge Moor, Del. Office became Presidential July 1, 1938.

GEORGIA

Victor L. Howe, Tallapoosa, Ga., in place of V. L. Howe. Incumbent's commission expired April 29, 1942.

IDAHO

Violet O. Brown, Smelterville, Idaho, in place of A. G. Waggoner, resigned.

ILLINOIS

Mary L. Mears, Bellflower, Ill., in place of O. W. Ashworth, transferred.

R. Verne Westervelt, Buda, Ill., in place of E. R. Webb, resigned.

Hardy E. Altig, Cullom, Ill., in place of S. J. Kiley. Incumbent's commission expired February 6, 1941.

Harold E. Price, Grant Park, Ill., in place of F. B. Laking, removed.

William W. Sloan, Rockton, Ill., in place of W. W. Sloan. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1942.

Charles H. Green, Vandalia, Ill., in place of G. L. Hausmann, deceased.

INDIANA

Breck E. Leach, Merom, Ind. Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

Bernice Bales, Modoc, Ind. Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

Charles A. Good, Monterey, Ind., in place of C. A. Good. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1942.

Martin W. Smith, Mount Vernon, Ind., in place of L. W. Thomas, deceased.

IOWA

Mary E. Coons, Carson, Iowa, in place of G. P. Killinger, resigned.

Orange J. DeVault, Earlham, Iowa, in place of W. R. Price, transferred.

Albert B. Mahnke, Greene, Iowa, in place of A. B. Mahnke. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1942.

Martha E. Radford, Hancock, Iowa. Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

James M. Hirl, Princeton, Iowa. Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

KANSAS

M. Madge Shetty, Chetopa, Kans., in place of O. E. Heath, resigned.

Aletha Hawkins, Quenemo, Kans., in place of R. E. Elder, removed.

KENTUCKY

Edwin P. Terry, Cave City, Ky., in place of T. L. Gorby, deceased.

LOUISIANA

Paul T. Thibodaux, Donaldsville, La., in place of P. T. Thibodaux. Incumbent's commission expired May 28, 1941.

Robert Lane Colvin, Dubach, La., in place of W. O. Woodward. Incumbent's commission expired March 16, 1941.

Joy Pate, Hornbeck, La. Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

Henry J. Smith, Mandeville, La., in place of H. J. Smith. Incumbent's commission expired February 18, 1941.

George C. Berly, Marthaville, La., in place of A. C. Locke, resigned.

Esther J. Mohr, Pearl River, La., in place of C. A. Crawford, resigned.

Susie L. Ristom, Starks, La. Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

Leland J. DeVary, Vinton, La., in place of S. A. Fairchild, retired.

Thelma M. Fleming, Westlake, La., in place of T. M. Fleming. Incumbent's commission expired February 18, 1941.

MAINE

M. Louise Miller, Waldoboro, Maine, in place of A. D. Thompson, removed without prejudice.

Alton B. Gerrish, Winter Harbor, Maine, in place of J. M. Gerrish, deceased.

MARYLAND

Charles H. Wilson, Forest Hill, Md., in place of C. H. Wilson. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1942.

Rebecca B. Leaman, Germantown, Md. Office became Presidential July 1, 1940.

James A. Currier, Havre de Grace, Md., in place of G. H. Hergenrother, deceased.

Wilma M. Berg, Mount Hays, Md. Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

MICHIGAN

LaVange M. Taggart, Cement City, Mich. Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

Margaret C. Cryan, Mendon, Mich., in place of G. P. Riley, removed.

Bert F. Taylor, North Adams, Mich., in place of R. C. Wolcott, transferred.

MINNESOTA

Esther C. Saam, Cleveland, Minn., Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

Gilbert P. Finnegan, Eveleth, Minn., in place of G. P. Finnegan. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1942.

Ada L. Davies, Kasota, Minn., in place of A. L. Davies. Incumbent's commission expired June 18, 1942.

Arthur P. Rose, Marshall, Minn., in place of A. P. Rose. Incumbent's commission expired June 18, 1942.

MISSOURI

Elisha O. Bryeans, Oran, Mo., in place of E. O. Bryeans. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1942.

MONTANA

Lovell E. Whitmore, Whitefish, Mont., in place of L. T. Dennis, resigned.

NEVADA

Frank F. Garside, Las Vegas, Nev., in place of F. F. Garside. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1942.

NEW JERSEY

Bradford D. Coffey, Bayville, N. J., Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

Elizabeth Massey, Franklin, N. J., in place of W. C. Nestor, Jr., resigned.

John B. Braun, Jr., Hightstown, N. J., in place of C. S. Grover. Incumbent's commission expired July 26, 1939.

Xavier H. Walter, Palmyra, N. J., in place of H. W. Barry, deceased.

Lebbeus Potter, Sussex, N. J., in place of A. M. Kimble, deceased.

NEW MEXICO

Melvin O. Shockey, Mountainair, N. Mex., in place of B. C. Melton, resigned.

NORTH CAROLINA

William B. Flake, Lilesville, N. C., Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

Eunice M. E. Blalock, Longhurst, N. C., Office became Presidential July 1, 1936.

OHIO

Orpah M. Geeding, Addyston, Ohio, Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

George M. Hanlon, Hamersville, Ohio, in place of S. N. Caron, retired.

William E. Steck, New Lebanon, Ohio, in place of H. A. Haber. Incumbent's commission expired March 25, 1942.

OKLAHOMA

Jesse W. Keith, Halleysville, Okla., in place of J. W. Keith. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1942.

David S. Williams, Purcell, Okla., in place of D. S. Williams. Incumbent's commission expired May 14, 1942.

Lloyd Barclay, Tryon, Okla., Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

OREGON

Mae M. Humphrey, Boring, Oreg., in place of M. M. Humphrey. Incumbent's commission expired June 18, 1942.

F. Sylvia Brennan, Hines, Oreg., in place of J. T. Brophy, resigned.

PENNSYLVANIA

J. Raymond Stratton, Blossburg, Pa., in place of E. D. Birmingham. Incumbent's commission expired June 6, 1942.

Mary R. Yocom, Douglassville, Pa., in place of M. R. Yocom. Incumbent's commission expired June 8, 1942.

Flora E. Falter, Glassmere, Pa., Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

Russell D. Stein, Kutztown, Pa., in place of Llewellyn Angstadt, retired.

Richard H. Ziegler, Red Lion, Pa., in place of P. A. Tschop, resigned.

Harold E. Burnham, Wattsburg, Pa., Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

Delia L. Meckly, West Milton, Pa., Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Hall H. Armstrong, Bath, S. C., in place of F. L. Armstrong, retired.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Anna A. Dithmer, Kadoka, S. Dak., in place of A. A. Dithmer. Incumbent's commission expired May 14, 1942.

Charles E. Stutenroth, Redfield, S. Dak., in place of C. E. Stutenroth. Incumbent's commission expired May 14, 1942.

B. Maynard Christenson, Volin, S. Dak., Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

Gertrude M. Matteson, White Rock, S. Dak., in place of F. B. Kargleder, transferred.

TENNESSEE

Robert T. Sterchi, Chattanooga, Tenn., in place of E. F. Dennis. Incumbent's commission expired May 28, 1942.

John L. Marshall, McKenzie, Tenn., in place of O. K. Martin, deceased.

Paul B. Andrews, Sparta, Tenn., in place of J. R. Hennessee. Incumbent's commission expired June 8, 1942.

James W. Howard, Spring Hill, Tenn., in place of I. M. Cheairs, retired.

TEXAS

Maud English, Kennard, Tex., in place of H. P. English, retired.

Lawrence O. Reardon, Mason, Tex., in place of J. W. Reynolds, retired.

Hilmar H. Wagner, Rowena, Tex., in place of Joseph Marecek, transferred.

Verda L. White, Royalty, Tex., in place of N. M. Lewis, resigned.

Willie R. Goodwin, Stinnett, Tex., in place of W. R. Goodwin. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1942.

VIRGINIA

Andrew W. Cameron, Hot Springs, Va., in place of A. W. Cameron. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1942.

WASHINGTON

Carl V. Elliott, Brewster, Wash., in place of L. M. Tyler, retired.

Roy R. Nottage, Sprague, Wash., in place of J. F. Brislaw, removed without prejudice.

WEST VIRGINIA

John B. Forinash, Huttonsville, W. Va., Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

Stella G. James, Institute, W. Va., in place of S. G. James. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1942.

Cassius O. Shafer, Sr., Lundale, W. Va., Office became Presidential July 1, 1942.

WISCONSIN

Wallace J. Milsap, Shawano, Wis., in place of W. J. Milsap. Incumbent's commission expired June 23, 1942.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate March 5, 1943:

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

Chase A. Clark to be United States district judge for the district of Idaho.

MINT OF THE UNITED STATES

Moses E. Smith to be Superintendent of the Mint of the United States at Denver, Colo.

UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

TO BE DENTAL SURGEONS

James S. Miller
Gordon G. Braendle

POSTMASTERS

NEBRASKA

Plato C. Redfern, Big Spring.
Edmund A. Hall, Fairmont.
Marion M. Kenroy, Long Pine.

Charles F. Beushausen, Loup City.
Mary E. Krisl, Milligan.
Marie Weeks, Norfolk.
George C. Thurman, Peru.
Beth H. Clary, Seneca.
Charles E. Major, Trenton.
Hester E. Lowe, Wolbach.

NEW YORK

Jeannette S. Catalano, Derby.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRIDAY, MARCH 5, 1943

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, when chastened by pain and doubt we would lean on Thee for Thou art the shadow of a great rock in a world of peril. Along with the years we marvel and wonder why life is life. O to see a little clearer where we cannot see. Grant that we may draw nearer to Thee when thoughts of doubt crowd and no hand reaches out to help.

Dear Lord, the coveted higher life is far, far away, if we fail to take Thee at Thy word: "I will go with Thee all the way." To be unloved and uncared for by the God of our immortal souls would be blighting to our hopes and chilling to our upward-seeking desires. We rejoice that to this weary, anguished world, our Saviour is the bread which cometh down from Heaven and fear is mastered and subdued, and care no longer eateth as doth a canker. We humbly pray that His spirit may harmonize the powers of our natures. O mold them into a beautiful service of righteousness, that our influence may be felt and others may taste the joy of doing good and promote the Kingdom of God in human hearts and homes, and Thine shall be the praise forever. In our Redeemer's name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include therein a statement by the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] on Town Hall of the Air and two brief excerpts from newspaper articles.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

GIVING CREDIT FOR VICTORY

Mr. ALLEN of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALLEN of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, in a communique on the results of the great victory in the Pacific this week in which our forces destroyed a huge enemy convoy with very little loss to ourselves, General MacArthur, in commenting on the victory, made this significant statement:

Merciful Providence has guided us to this victory.